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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Monthly Bulletin of the Department of External Affairs

CANADA

Vol. XVII No 1-12 In this Issue

^{Dec.} January 1965

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE 1964

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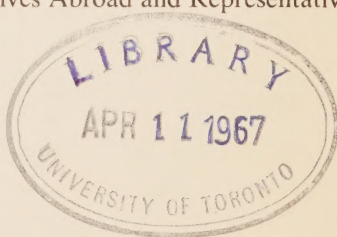
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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

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Canada and the United Nations

SPEECH BY THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, TO THE NINETEENTH SESSION OF THE UNITED
NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON DECEMBER 8, 1964.

Mr. President:

May I begin by congratulating you on your election to preside over the deliberations of this Assembly? In electing you to this high office, the Assembly has given recognition, at one and the same time, to the distinguished services you have rendered to the United Nations, to the prominent part your country has played in the affairs of this organization, and to the growing stature of Africa in the world.

I would also wish to extend a welcome to the Delegations of Malawi, Zambia and Malta, who have joined our ranks for the first time. Their presence among us serves as a reminder of the transcendent political changes that have marked the first two decades of the existence of the United Nations. It also takes us yet another step closer to universality of membership, which was the great issue of our debates some ten years ago and which must remain our ultimate goal so long as any significant segment of the world's population remains unrepresented in this forum.

Your own country, Mr. President, and mine are associated with these three new countries in the Commonwealth. We regard the development of this association as an imaginative response to the political changes of which I have spoken. We believe that it provides a unique framework for constructive co-operation among peoples of different races, creeds and cultures. This co-operation rests on a partnership of equals, and it is designed for our common benefit. We have recognized that, if the Commonwealth association is to continue to be meaningful, we would have to meet the challenge of racial equality and non-discrimination which is central to our partnership. We have not sought to avoid this challenge but have met it firmly and unequivocally by pledging ourselves to work towards "a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed".

We are now on the threshold of the twentieth anniversary year of the United Nations. On an occasion such as this it is fitting that we should look back on the record of our accomplishments and our failures. It is equally fitting that we should cast our glance forward into the future to survey the opportunities that are open to us and the means we must deploy towards their attainment.

The United Nations was born of disenchantment — disenchantment with an order of things which, twice in a single generation, had engulfed us in armed conflict with all the attendant destruction and human suffering. But the United Nations was also born of a determination to build a new and more rational world

order based on constructive co-operation in the common interest of the world community as a whole.

It was the assumption and expectation of the framers of the Charter that along this course the United Nations would be sustained by the strength and resources of the great powers acting in concert. As matters developed, this assumption was not fully realized. This has slowed the pace of our progress towards a more rational world order. It has not diminished the impetus which must inevitably lead us in that direction.

Two Decades of International Co-operation

Indeed, when we look back over the past two decades, we are bound to be struck by the extent to which we have come, over an increasingly wide area, to organize our activities on a basis of international co-operation. There is scarcely an area of human concern which we have not brought within the focus of one international organization or another. We have joined in concerted attacks on famine, disease and illiteracy. We have co-operated in freeing the flow of trade and capital. We have begun to mobilize the resources of the affluent world in support of the efforts of the developing countries. We have made arrangements for disseminating the achievements of science and technology. We have collaborated in drawing up a Charter of Human Rights. And we have endeavoured to work out ways in which the disputes of nations can be contained and brought within the compass of negotiated solutions. In short, we have recognized that international co-operation, far from being incompatible with our national interests, is in many areas the most effective as well as the most enduring way of securing them.

This is, I think, a creditable record of achievement. It surely demonstrates that the United Nations has not become, as many feared that it might, a mere debating society. But it does not afford us any grounds for complacency. The world in which we live is one of change — change on a scale, and at a pace, unprecedented in the affairs of men. If the United Nations is to become the dynamic instrument of governments which the late Dag Hammarskjöld envisaged, it must not only be able to meet our present needs but must have the capacity to serve as an instrument of peaceful change.

Influence of New Nations

Already the focus of emphasis in the United Nations has shifted. And it has shifted, in large part, as a result of the emergence to independent nationhood of countries which now constitute more than half of our total membership. These countries are seeking to broaden out the basis and the meaning of their newly-achieved independence. They are seeking to provide improved conditions of life for all segments of their populations. And they are seeking to absorb the impact of the scientific and technical revolution of the twentieth century in conditions of reasonable social and economic stability. These are formidable tasks. They cannot be

accomplished by these countries acting in isolation. They can be accomplished only in a co-operative world environment.

Inevitably, the new balance of forces in our organization has brought in its wake problems that will need to be met. For my own part, I am confident that they can be met. I say this because it is surely in the interests of all of us that the United Nations should continue to command the widest possible support of those who are involved in the determination of policy in its member states. Clearly, the greater the size of our membership and the more diffuse the interests represented in our deliberations, the more important it becomes that the conclusions we reach and the recommendations we put forward should reflect the broadest possible consensus of views. In this respect, I am encouraged by the new emphasis that is being placed on the instrument of conciliation as one best calculated to reinforce the effectiveness of the United Nations. Conciliation was responsible, in large measure, for safeguarding the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Conciliation was also instrumental in enabling this Assembly to embark on its work this year in circumstances which we, Mr. President, regard as among the most critical which the United Nations has had to face in the 20 years of its existence.

The crisis we face is not merely a financial crisis. Nor is it limited to constitutional issues. It is a crisis which touches upon our whole conception of the United Nations as the custodian of international peace and security. It is a crisis on the outcome of which hinge the hopes and aspirations of the vast majority of its members for a peaceful and securely-ordered world.

Importance of Peace Keeping

Canada attaches the highest importance to the concept of peace keeping. We regard the evolution of that concept, as distinct from the concepts envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter, as affording the most significant example of the vitality of the United Nations and its capacity for change in response to changing circumstances. Peace keeping has evolved steadily from the designation of an Observer Group to assist India and Pakistan in avoiding further conflict in Kashmir to the despatch of a United Nations Force to the island of Cyprus earlier this year. This is a period which is almost coterminous with the whole period of existence of the United Nations. Increasingly, over this period, there has been recourse to, and reliance upon, the United Nations presence to prevent unstable situations from erupting into open conflict.

Because of the importance which Canada attaches to this development and the implications it has for the maintenance of world peace and security, we have participated in every peace-keeping operation mounted by the United Nations since 1948, and we have done our best to meet its calls for logistic and financial support. We have also, over the past eight years, maintained a stand-by force which is available on short notice should it be requested by the United Nations for participation in duly-authorized peace-keeping operations.

The same motives which prompted us to respond readily to the calls of the United Nations also prompted us, last month, to convene a conference in Ottawa for the purpose of taking stock of the practical experience which has been gained in past peace-keeping operations. The Conference was attended by representatives from 23 countries, and I am pleased to take this opportunity of paying tribute to the excellent work they did. There was no attempt made by the Conference to produce formal conclusions or to chart any forward course of collective action. I am confident, however, that the Conference has done something to improve the capacity of the participating countries to respond more effectively and more rationally to future appeals by the United Nations.

Since the conclusion of the Conference, I have been encouraged to note the proposal of the Secretary-General that the whole question of advance planning for peace-keeping operations be studied by the United Nations. In putting this proposal forward in the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General expressed the hope that such a study might "yield recommendations for consideration by the competent organs", which may then authorize him "to proceed along such lines as may be generally approved". Canada strongly supports this proposal, and we will naturally be prepared to play our full part in carrying it forward at the appropriate time.

The availability of properly trained and equipped forces is one element of an effective United Nations capacity to keep the peace. The availability of the necessary financial resources on an assured basis is another. It would be tragic, indeed, if, in a future crisis, the United Nations were debarred, for lack of funds, from intervening in the cause of peace.

Expenses the Business of All

Canada has always supported the view that the responsibility for maintaining peace and security is one which is shared by all member states of the United Nations. We regard it as a logical consequence of that view that the cost of peace keeping must also be shared equitably by all, with due regard to their relative capacity to contribute. We believe this principle of shared responsibility to be inherent in the Charter, and we find ourselves confirmed in that belief by the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. According to that opinion, the expenses incurred by the United Nations in the Middle East and in the Congo are expenses of the organization and the assessments for them approved by the General Assembly are binding assessments.

I am bound to acknowledge that some important member states do not share our view either of the principle or of the law involved. In circumstances where the five Permanent Members of the Security Council between them are responsible for meeting two-thirds of the costs of our organization, the dissenting views of two of these Permanent Members are clearly of critical importance. The divergence between their views and those of the majority of members have set us on a col-

lision course which, if not diverted, can only have the gravest consequences for the United Nations, whatever the outcome. In this situation, it is incumbent on each and every one of us to reflect on the implications of our present course and to explore all avenues of reaching an accommodation to which we can all subscribe.

The vital importance of this problem has, of course, been recognized for some considerable time. As far back as 1961, the Canadian Delegation, in an effort to find a solution to this problem, sponsored the proposal which led to the establishment of the Working Group of 15. In this Group, and subsequently in the Working Group of 21, we sought actively to reconcile the fundamental divergences of view which have threatened the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace. We deeply regret that it has not proved possible so far to arrive at any accommodation.

Need for Mutual Concession

Such an accommodation must be found. If it is to be found, there will need to be a willingness to make concessions on all sides. I am confident that, in the same spirit of conciliation which has attended the opening phase of this Assembly, the necessary concessions can and will be made. Agreement on this issue is vital to the future of our organization, but I believe it will also have implications beyond the United Nations. It could be as important as the nuclear test-ban treaty as a means of broadening the basis of international understanding. For it is surely in the interest of the great powers that the international community should be free to act in situations which might otherwise have the effect of extending the area of confrontation between them.

The search for agreement must be initiated at once and pursued vigorously. We welcome the steps which have already been taken by the Secretary-General to this end. We look forward to the early advancement of the more restricted discussions now under way, to the point where the Working Group of 21 can be called into action. We believe that, at that stage, the detailed exploration of this issue which has been carried out by the members of the Working Group over the past year will prove to be of value.

The Canadian objective in these discussions will be to achieve an accommodation, not a capitulation. I would not wish to leave this subject, however, without affirming once again our belief that the principle of shared responsibility must form the basis of any ultimate consensus. We believe, in particular, that the responsibility for meeting the costs of operations such as Cyprus, the need for which has been acknowledged by the Security Council, must be shared by all member states, rather than left to a few.

With regard to the maintenance of peace and security, I wish to emphasize as strongly as I can that it is not enough for the United Nations to rely on the goodwill of a few. It must be able to count on the response and the responsibility of the whole membership.

I believe that there will continue to be a need for peace-keeping operations in the foreseeable future. I say this because we have witnessed great political and social changes in our world which will take time to work themselves out and which cannot be counted upon to do so without some element of upheaval. Meanwhile, there is an obligation which the Charter places upon us to settle our disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force against one another. We also have an obligation to carry forward our pursuit of peace and security by working towards our agreed objective of general and complete disarmament.

Limiting Spread of Nuclear Arms

The events of the past few months have made it clear that the central issue in the disarmament field at this Assembly is the need to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. When I speak in terms of events of the past few months, I have naturally in mind the nuclear test conducted by Communist China on October 16. We deeply regret that the Chinese Communist Government should have chosen to disregard world opinion in such deliberate fashion. We also look upon this development as profoundly disquieting for the future. If it does nothing else, I would hope that it will impart fresh urgency to our efforts to reach agreement to limit the spread of independent military nuclear capability.

The nuclear test-ban treaty is, for the time being, the only international instrument inhibiting an expansion of the number of nuclear powers. The Canadian position has been that nuclear and non-nuclear powers should be bound reciprocally in an undertaking to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons. The need for such agreement is greater now that the number of nuclear powers has increased. It is no longer sufficient to depend on the restraining of the nuclear powers themselves. What is now required is the elaboration of an international agreement or agreements by which the nuclear states would undertake not to relinquish control of nuclear weapons or to transmit the information necessary for their manufacture to states not possessing such weapons, while the non-nuclear states, for their part, would pledge themselves not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of nuclear weapons. In the Canadian view, an agreement on these lines would have a significant contribution to make to the enlargement of world peace and security.

Canada has been in the forefront of the development of nuclear energy. The manufacture of nuclear weapons has long been within our technical capability. It has, however, been the deliberate policy of successive Canadian Governments to refrain from exercising that capability and to concentrate on the peaceful uses of the atom. That remains the position of Canada. There are other nations — notably India — which, though within range of a nuclear capability, have taken the same position of self-denial. We believe that this is the position best calculated to advance the cause of peace.

I have been speaking so far about the part the United Nations has played and must continue to play in the enlargement of world peace and security. Let me now

turn to the other major field in which the United Nations has a part to play in pushing outward the boundaries of international co-operation, the enlargement of world prosperity.

World peace and world prosperity are closely linked together. A climate of world peace is indispensable if the struggle against poverty, hunger and disease is to be waged effectively and with the full mobilization of all the resources at our command. Conversely, there cannot be any assured prospect of peace and security in a world in which affluence and poverty are so unevenly distributed.

We are now approaching the mid-point of the United Nations Development Decade. The object in designating the 1960s in this way was to achieve in the developing countries targets of economic growth that held out some prospect of narrowing the gap between their living standards and those of the developed countries. These targets were set as minimum targets, representing, as they did, a compromise between what needed to be done and what was considered to lie within the realm of practical achievement. Experience has shown that even these minimum targets can be met only if domestic effort in the developing countries is properly deployed and if it is supported by appropriate international policies. Experience has also shown that trade has a vital contribution to make to the total development process.

Conference on Trade and Development

It was with the object of bringing trade and development into closer focus that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was convened in Geneva earlier this year. This was the largest economic conference held in the history of this or any other organization. It was also the first such conference to concern itself comprehensively with the problem of under-development which affects two-thirds of the world's population. It enabled us jointly to take stock of the magnitude of the problem. It brought about a substantial measure of identification of the interests of developing countries as a group. Indeed, the coalescence of the 75 developing countries within the larger community of interest, which includes us all, was perhaps the most significant single feature of the Geneva Conference. I think it is fair to say that the Conference enabled us to arrive at a much better understanding of the broad lines along which domestic and international effort must henceforth be directed. It also produced broadly agreed recommendations on a number of important questions, especially those relating to development planning in a framework of international support.

Inevitably, the Conference did not go as far as many would have wished it to go. But I think we would be wrong to judge the Conference in terms only of its short-term results. World public opinion is now seized of the problem of under-development as never before. We can also now look forward to the establishment of an institutional framework within which the work that was begun at Geneva can be carried forward in depth. For my part, I look upon the Conference as a

turning point in history. It has set in train developments which, I am sure, will not be reversed and which are bound to make a lasting imprint on the whole pattern of international economic relations.

Canada Increases Economic Aid

The Canadian Government is prepared to play its full part in the great co-operative effort that will be required if the developing countries are to be brought to the threshold of self-sustaining economic growth. We are expanding and broadening our programmes of economic assistance. We were able, at the Geneva Conference, to announce a 50 percent increase in the volume of Canadian assistance during the current year. Only last Friday, on behalf of the Government of Canada, I signed an agreement with the Inter-American Development Bank under which we have agreed to make loans on very favourable terms to Latin-American countries for programmes designed to accelerate their economic, technical and educational development. I mention this agreement because it provides for the first concerted programme of Canadian assistance to our neighbours and friends in Latin America and thus an extension of the area in which Canada has carried out such programmes in the past.

I would also wish to say a word about the World Food Programme of the United Nations. We regard this programme as contributing significantly to economic development, and look forward to its renewal in 1965. The present contributions to this programme have been either used up or committed. In these circumstances, the Canadian Government has decided to make a further contribution of \$2 million, to be added to the \$5.4 million of our original pledge.

The United Nations itself is on the point of consolidating its own development assistance by merging the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The Canadian Government supports the considerations which have prompted this move. We attach importance to the new combined programme carrying forward the same sound policies which have characterized the operation of the present programmes and commanding the same confidence and support.

Special Status for Developing Nations

We recognize that there will be a continuing need for both bilateral and multi-lateral assistance to sustain the efforts which the developing countries themselves are making to mobilize their resources for development. We also recognize, however, that these countries look towards a world trading order that is in the closest possible harmony with their interests. The Canadian market imposes no barrier other than the tariff to the products of the developing countries. We are prepared, in the context of the negotiations which have now formally been launched at Geneva, to reduce our tariffs with particular regard for the trading interests of the developing countries. In common with other developed countries, we are prepared to do so without requiring an equivalence of concessions from the developing

countries. As Canadians, we believe that a stable world trading order is of interest to all countries, including, particularly, those in the process of development, and that there cannot be such a trading order without some balance of rights and obligations. On the other hand, we are prepared to recognize the special position of the developing countries in the world trading context. I believe that the agreement which has now been reached to give statutory recognition to this special position of the developing countries in the context of GATT is one we all welcome as a significant step in the right direction.

In the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General speaks of the new conciliation procedures which have emerged from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as adding to "the broad concepts of negotiation and co-operation inherent in the Charter". As I have already indicated, Canada attaches particular importance to this concept of conciliation. We regard it as a valid and efficient concept in the management of our domestic affairs, although its application demands patience and goodwill. We also believe that, if we are to proceed to a closer identification of the attitudes and activities of members of the world community at large, we can best do so by taking serious and realistic account of one another's concerns. Any other course is likely, in our view, to weaken the very organizations which embody our hopes for a new world order and among which the United Nations itself stands first and foremost.

World peace and world prosperity — these are the twin pillars on which the UN must stand or fall. We have now reached a critical juncture in our affairs. What we must decide is whether the United Nations is to be enabled to play its appointed part in securing world peace and world prosperity or whether its capacity to do so is to be seriously impaired, if not crippled. For let us not think that the ability of the United Nations to serve the broader interests of the world community will be unaffected by the way in which we solve the present crisis.

We have made substantial progress in the course of international co-operation over the past two decades. We must now consolidate that progress and build upon it. We cannot afford to go back on what we have achieved.

Here in the United Nations are embodied the hopes and aspirations of mankind for a better world order. We have an obligation, each and every one of us acting within the concept of shared responsibility, to see that these hopes and aspirations do not go unrealized. Let it not be said in this Assembly that we failed to discharge that obligation, with all the consequences this could have for the future course of international co-operation.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

MINISTERIAL MEETING, DECEMBER 1964

The following communiqué was issued at the end of the recent NATO ministerial meeting:

The North Atlantic Council met in ministerial session in Paris, December 15, 16 and 17, 1964.

2. Ministers surveyed the whole field of East-West relations. The basic causes of tension still persist, and will persist as long as it remains the aim of Communist countries to extend their system to the whole world. Ministers noted that recent developments in China and the U.S.S.R. have increased the uncertainties with which the world is faced. They reiterated their conviction that it remained essential for the Alliance to maintain and strengthen its unity.

3. Ministers also reviewed the situation in various areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They reaffirmed their interest in the stability of these areas and in the economic and social welfare of the people concerned.

4. In their discussions on the state and future progress of the Alliance, the ministers emphasized the importance of strengthening and deepening their political consultation. Recognizing the challenges that may face the Organization in the years ahead, they directed the Council in permanent session to study the state of the Alliance and the purposes and objectives commonly accepted by all members, and to keep the ministers informed.

5. The ministers reaffirmed their determination to continue their efforts to find a peaceful solution to the questions at issue between East and West. In particular, they continue to attach great importance to making progress towards meeting the legitimate aspirations of the German people to reunification on the basis of their right to self-determination. In regard to Berlin, the ministers confirmed the terms of their declaration of December 16, 1958.

6. The ministers expressed their conviction that the unity and military preparedness of the Alliance had safeguarded the peace and preserved the freedom of the West in the past. So long as general and complete disarmament under effective international control has not been achieved, any weakening of the allied defensive posture would expose the Alliance to increased pressures. The ministers, therefore, stressed the importance of maintaining the cohesion of member states in the strategic as well as the political field. Only a military structure demonstrably capable of swift and vigorous reaction to any aggression can meet the threat. To maintain such a structure, involving as it does a continuous adaptation to changing requirements, necessitates a persistent effort to improve the readiness, state of training and equipment of the forces of the Alliance. It further requires a sound



The Canadian delegation at the NATO ministerial meeting in Paris (left to right): the Honourable Paul Hellyer, Minister of National Defence; the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mr. George Ignatieff, Permanent Representative of Canada on the North Atlantic Council.

economic basis for the defence effort and the most rational use of available resources.

7. The ministers also confirmed their determination to continue their efforts to arrive at agreements in the field of disarmament. In this connection, they stressed the importance of avoiding the dissemination of nuclear weapons.

8. The ministers examined the problems confronting the Alliance in the field of conventional and nuclear weapons. A thorough exchange of views on these problems took place and will be continued.

9. The ministers took note of developments in the studies of the interrelated questions of strategy, force requirements and resources, initiated in pursuance of decisions taken at their meeting in Ottawa in May 1963. They reaffirmed the significance they attached to these studies and instructed the Council in permanent session to continue them with the assistance of the NATO military authorities.

10. The ministers also considered the special military and economic problems of Greece and Turkey. They reaffirmed the need for accelerating the economic development of these two allied countries, and for an effort to strengthen the defence of the Southeastern Region of NATO. They instructed the Council in permanent session to continue to examine these questions urgently.

11. In the spirit of previous resolutions on defence aid to Greece in 1963 and

1964, the ministers established a procedure aimed at contributing to the solution of the special defence problems of Greece and Turkey in 1965.

12. With regard to Greek-Turkish relations, the ministers heard a report by the Secretary-General on the "watching brief" conferred on his predecessor at The Hague in May 1964. In an effort to improve these relations and in the interests of the solidarity of the Alliance, they agreed that this "watching brief" should continue. They reaffirmed their determination to lose no opportunity of contributing to a reduction in tension and a peaceful, agreed and equitable solution of the problem of Cyprus, confirming also their support for the efforts of the United Nations and the Mediator.

13. The ministers considered a report on emergency planning. They reaffirmed the importance of such planning within the context of overall defence, noting the progress which had been achieved and the work which remained to be done.

14. The next meeting of the North Atlantic Council at ministerial level will be held on the invitation of the British Government in London in May 1965.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

MINISTERIAL MEETING, 1964

THE HONOURABLE Mitchell Sharp, Minister of Trade and Commerce, headed the Canadian delegation to the annual meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, which met in Paris on December 2 and 3.¹ The meeting, which was attended by ministers from all 21 member countries, gave primary attention to assessing the progress of member countries towards the target of 50 percent growth for the decade of the 1960s and to a consideration of the role the OECD, as an important forum for consultation among industrialized nations, could play in the emerging international effort to alleviate the trade and aid problems of the less-developed two-thirds of the world. In his statements to the Council, Mr. Sharp was able to report:

In Canada, our economic expansion is well into its fourth year, and incomes, investment, production and foreign trade have all continued to advance more strongly in 1964.

British Surcharge Problem

During the full and frank consideration of the British economic situation, Mr. Sharp observed that the Canadian Government had publicly expressed its understanding of the present economic difficulties facing Britain, and that it was important that the surcharges be regarded, both within and outside Britain, as temporary, and that they be speedily reduced and removed. He concluded that what was now needed was a period of calm in the foreign-exchange markets, during which the British could take fundamental action to deal with their deeply-imbedded problems.

Communiqué

The Ministerial Council of the OECD met in Paris on December 2 and 3, 1964, under the chairmanship of the Honourable Joseph Luns, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, and reviewed the economic situation of its member countries and their economic relations with the rest of the world. Japan participated for the first time as a member.

2. For the years 1960-1964, the increase of the gross national product for the OECD countries taken together has been roughly in line with the target of 50 percent growth for the decade. Though there has been some slowing down in the rate of expansion in various European countries and Japan, the prospects for

¹The communiqué issued at the end of the meeting is printed below.



The Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Minister of Trade and Commerce (left), and Mr. J. H. Warren, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, at the Paris meeting of the OECD.

economic growth in 1965 for the OECD area as a whole seem to be good. In certain countries, such as Italy, encouragement for investment should now be contemplated.

However, inflationary tendencies have made themselves felt in a number of member countries. Their present policies designed to control these tendencies will have to be continued in order to prevent inflation spreading. Developments during the last year indicate that, in working towards the growth target, it will be necessary to devote great attention to policies designed to maintain stability.

It is, therefore, important that monetary incomes should be kept within the limits that productivity permits. An important condition for this is that demand should not be too high.

The attainment of economic growth without inflation can be facilitated by an active manpower policy that promotes the best utilization of human resources. Likewise, further changes in agricultural policies shifting emphasis from price support to support of structural reforms and regional development would permit gradual transfers of manpower into expanding industries and services while allowing higher incomes to those remaining in agriculture. In this respect, due regard should be given to the social consequences arising out of the transformation process.

Apart from the United Kingdom, the international-payments positions of the OECD countries have been brought into better balance. Italy's large deficit has

turned into a surplus, while the surpluses of France and Germany have been reduced, as has the deficit of the United States.

Problems remain. The United States must continue to reduce its balance-of-payments deficit. The large deficit of the United Kingdom, though partly due to temporary factors, gives reason for concern. It calls for economic policies designed to bring about a lasting improvement in the United Kingdom's external financial position. The situation will be kept under close examination in the Organization. Ministers noted the series of measures which had already been decided upon. They further noted the temporary character and non-discriminatory form of the import surcharge and that the United Kingdom Government was firmly resolved to reduce it in a non-discriminatory manner and abolish it at the earliest possible moment.

The ministers noted with satisfaction that the Organization will undertake a special study of the balance-of-payments adjustment process and play an active role in the multilateral surveillance of means to finance imbalances, as requested by the ten countries parties to the General Arrangements to Borrow.

5. The ministers directed the Organization to continue its efforts to stimulate activity to improve the capital markets of member countries of the Organization. They considered that increased effectiveness of capital markets was especially important for facilitating the financing of economic growth and for contributing to balance-of-payments equilibrium.

6. The ministers reviewed the situation of the two consortia for aid to Greece and Turkey. Greece has recently submitted a new request for financial assistance and there should now be renewed activity by the consortium. While the consortium for Turkey has provided substantial external aid in support of Turkish development, the financing of such development will require increased efforts by the interested members of the OECD and by the Turkish authorities to strengthen the efficiency of the economy. The consortium is currently studying new proposals for achieving its goals in the coming years.

7. The ministers reviewed the situation after the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. They instructed the Organization to continue its work in analyzing the trade, financial and other development problems raised during the Conference and co-ordinating member countries' efforts to formulate constructive policies designed to further the economic expansion of the developing countries.

8. The ministers noted a continuing though moderate increase in the development aid provided by member countries in 1963 and the geographic broadening of aid by donor countries. The total of new commitments, however, has been stagnating in recent years and there is a need for a renewal of the upward trend in this field.

Moreover, too large a part of the financial resources flowing to some less developed countries has been in the form of short and medium term credits. For this and other reasons, the rapidly growing debt service burden of such countries gives reason for concern.

The ministers instructed the Organization to continue, in co-operation with other international organizations, its studies of the debt burden and other financial problems affecting economic development. It should also encourage member governments to intensify their efforts, within the limits of their capacity, to increase the flow of aid, on better terms, taking into account the need for aid in the light of the ability of developing countries to mobilise and use effectively their own and foreign development resources.

9. The ministers also agreed on a decision giving guide-lines to the work of the Organization in the coming year.

UNESCO General Conference 1964

THE THIRTEENTH session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was held in Paris from October 20 to November 20, 1964. The growth of UNESCO, which saw the number of member states rise from 81 in 1958 to 113 in 1962, continued during the past biennium and, at the end of the thirteenth session, the total membership stood at 117. In similar manner the expansion of UNESCO's programme and accompanying financial requirements has continued. The regular budget approved for 1965-1966 was \$48,857 million, an increase of more than 22 per cent over the \$37 million provided for the preceding biennium. At the same time, the extra-budgetary funds for special projects which UNESCO receives from the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund grew from \$33 million in 1963-1964 to an anticipated \$46,190 million for 1965-1966, an increase of 28 per cent.

Representatives of 94 member states, associate members and affiliated organizations took part in the general debate at the beginning of the Conference. From this discussion it was clear that one of UNESCO's basic problems in the period ahead would be to strike an appropriate balance between the different types of activities with which it is concerned. On one level, this involves the division of resources and effort between projects concerned with intellectual co-operation in various traditional fields of concern to UNESCO, and those of an operational character, in which programmes designed to meet specific needs and problems — particularly those of the developing countries — are planned and executed. On another level there was the need to establish balance between those projects that are part of the Organization's regular programme and budget and those financed by extra-budgetary resources. A number of delegations held the view that UNESCO should not be required to choose between projects designed to stimulate intellectual exchanges and those with more immediate and practicable objectives. Instead, it was considered that balance should be achieved through an integration of the two types of activity in a single programme. In his statement during the general debate, the Canadian representative recognized that some sort of balance between projects financed from the regular budget and those supported by extra-budgetary funds was desirable, but he was not prepared to accept any suggestion that there had to be a matching or fixed relation between the size of the Organization's extra-budgetary resources and those derived from the regular budget. He also emphasized that UNESCO's operational activities should be carefully coordinated with those of the other international bodies that make up the United Nations family of organizations. Many national representatives suggested, and the Director-General agreed, that there was a need for greater concentration of effort in the programme, as well as for a clearly-established set of priorities. There was



Members of the Canadian delegation to the 1964 UNESCO General Conference (left to right): Mr. S. F. Rae, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations; Dr. Henry S. Hicks, President of Dalhousie University and President of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO; Madame Sylva Lamothe, Quebec Provincial President and National Vice-President of the Canadian UNICEF Committee; Professor W. A. C. H. Dobson, Department of East Asiatic Affairs, University of Toronto.

general agreement that the place of primary importance given to education in 1960 should be maintained for the foreseeable future. At the same time, there was satisfaction with the increased emphasis that was being given to the natural sciences for the first time in the 1965-1966 programme.

Organization of the Conference

The work of the General Conference is divided between the plenary session and a number of subsidiary bodies. Of these, the Programme and Administrative Commissions and Nominations Committee are committees of the whole; the Conference Bureau (the steering committee), the Headquarters Committee, the Legal Committee, the Credentials Committee and the Reports Committee have a more limited membership, but every effort is made to ensure suitable representation by major geographical regions. Throughout the Conference, the two commissions are in virtually continuous session, while the various committees meet intermittently as need arises.

Traditionally, the plenary session provides the forum for the Director-General's report to the Conference and the ensuing general debate, in which a large number of representatives from member states and affiliated organizations express their views on UNESCO's policies and activities. In addition, it is the task of the plenary session to elect the Conference officers and new members of the Executive Board and to receive reports on other matters from various subsidiary bodies. At the thirteenth General Conference, a new technique was introduced whereby agenda items that had political overtones that might give rise to controversy were referred directly to the plenary session. This practice was initiated in the hope that the subsidiary bodies would be free to concentrate on the substantive aspects of their work. On the whole, it proved to be a useful arrangement, though other bodies, such as the Programme Commission and the Legal Committee, were inevitably concerned to some extent with questions of a political character.

Professor N. M. Sissakian of the U.S.S.R., the only candidate proposed to the Conference, was elected on October 21 by acclamation.

UNESCO Programmes

The Programme Commission, charged with the planning and co-ordination of UNESCO's programmes for 1965-66, dealt with education, natural sciences, social sciences, human sciences and cultural activities, media and international exchanges in that order.

Education

Education continues to have the first priority among UNESCO's activities. A greatly expanded programme has been made possible for the forthcoming biennium by increased resources from the Special Fund and from the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, and this expansion can be expected to increase even further in the future. The Conference noted with satisfaction that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Development Association, and the Inter-American Development Bank were now providing long-term loans for secondary and technical education and participating in UNESCO's programme for educational planning.

The importance being attached to educational activities in UNESCO and their continued growth are best demonstrated perhaps by an examination of the financing involved. In the period 1963-1964, a total of \$16.6 million was made available for UNESCO's educational projects. Of this, \$9.9 million came from the regular budget and \$6.7 million from extra-budgetary resources. For the 1965-1966 period, the total funds available to UNESCO for educational work will amount to \$27.8 million. This is made up of \$11.3 million from the regular budget (an increase of 13 per cent) and \$16.5 million from extra-budgetary sources (an increase of 60 per cent).

In the area of educational planning and administration, where specialists are particularly scarce, UNESCO will continue its efforts to promote research and

rain personnel. There was agreement that the International Institute for Educational Planning, established in Paris in 1963, was already playing an important role in assisting member states in formulating policies for planning and for development at the national level, and it was expected that its effectiveness would be increased by the grant-in-aid it is receiving from the World Bank.

World Literacy Programme

In addition, a world literacy programme was designed to pave the way for the development of universal literacy. The Conference approved the Director-General's approach of employing a "selective strategy" and his proposal to initiate a five-year experimental programme in 1966 that would include the setting up of pilot projects in eight countries. It was expected that, when these projects had been analyzed and evaluated, the results would provide a basis for considering how best to attack the problem of illiteracy on a world-wide basis.

During the discussion of this matter in the Programme Commission, there was general agreement that the problem of overcoming illiteracy was a matter of the highest priority, and the interest the subject aroused was demonstrated by the fact that 52 interventions were made, the highest in the history of UNESCO. In the Canadian intervention, the view was expressed that a literacy programme should be an integral part of the whole social and economic development of a country and that UNESCO's role was that of a catalyst or a stimulant. Views current in Canada on teaching illiterates to read were also described in some detail. At the end of the discussion, 24 member states sponsored a proposal that a conference be organized to discuss plans for dealing with mass illiteracy and, since the Government of Iran offered to be host to such a meeting, it was decided that it should take place in Tehran in either 1965 or 1966.

Natural Sciences and Development

There was general satisfaction expressed at the proposal to give UNESCO's science activities, particularly the application of science to development, the same sort of impetus as was imparted to education in 1960. This new interest in science was demonstrated by the 36 percent increase in the science budget appropriation, which will total \$7.6 million in 1965-1966, and by the additions being made to the staff. The science programme presented by the Secretariat was well received, reflecting as it did the results of the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less-Developed Areas (UNCAST) held at Geneva in February 1963.

UNESCO's science programme is in three parts: (1) developing the basic organization of science; (2) international co-operation for the promotion of scientific research, and (3) the application of science and technology to development. Within this framework, the principal feature under International Co-operation Year was the proclamation by UNESCO of the period 1965-1975 as the International Hydrological Decade. This was the subject of a Canadian interven-

tion, during which it was noted that Canada had been represented at the inter-governmental meeting at which the Decade had been proposed. Canada contains a wide variety of hydrological environments, including more large lakes and fresh water than any other country, as well as extensive glaciers and ice-fields. It also has important hydro-electric developments, as well as problems of aridity, irrigation and water pollution. Canada was elected for a two-year term to the Coordinating Council established to organize and supervise the activities of the Decade.

Social and Human Sciences and Cultural Activities

While it was suggested on various occasions that this part of the programme was being "stabilized", the funds being supplied from the regular budget for activities in this area amounted to \$7.3 million, a 12 percent increase over the preceding biennium. When combined with the substantial additional extra-budgetary resources being made available, the increase totals 21 per cent.

A programme of particular interest for the next few years in this area is one entitled "The Trends of Research in the Field of Social and Human Sciences", which is comparable to a similar programme in the field of the natural sciences that has just been completed. In addition, UNESCO will be continuing a number of projects under this new chapter-heading. These include the encouragement of basic and applied research in the social sciences at the university level, the promotion of human rights, studies of the social and economic problems of newly independent countries, and the examination of the economic and social aspects of disarmament. At the same time, there will be a series of regional programmes designed to meet the problems and needs of particular areas of the world.

UNESCO will continue its role in the dissemination and international appreciation of cultures, with a view to bringing about improved international understanding at the cultural level, and toward this end certain programmes which have been particularly successful are to be extended. These include the translation of representative works in widely-spoken languages, the publication of new and old albums in the UNESCO World-Art Series, and the circulation of travelling exhibitions of reproductions. Also, in the period ahead, a special effort will be directed toward the cinematographic field with a view to the use of cultural films in museums and universities. Finally, assistance will be offered in the development of libraries, archives, bibliography and documentation and publication exchanges, particularly in countries where such facilities are badly needed and where efforts can contribute to the programme of economic and social development.

Mass Media and International Exchanges

The appropriation from the regular budget for the programme of mass media and international exchanges during 1965-1966 will be \$5.8 million, a 12 percent increase over the appropriations for the preceding biennium. The emphasis in mass communications was weighted heavily towards international efforts to assist the

developing countries, and there will be a concentration of effort in three fields: the promotion of improved training for mass-media personnel; the formulation of plans and priorities for the growth of national information media; and the development of mass communications techniques for education purposes.

A set of guiding principles concerning international exchanges was proposed and it was decided that a "solemn declaration" on this subject should be drafted for the approval of the next General Conference.

In the field of international exchanges, in order to meet the need for teachers with an international background to promote adult-education programmes, a number of "teacher-and-learner" grants will be made to enable persons within workers' organizations to undertake a three-month study period in another country. UNESCO will also continue to promote opportunities for academic study abroad by inviting member states to offer fellowships to be sponsored and administered jointly by UNESCO and donor states. Within this context, special campaigns will be launched for the training of staff in higher education in Africa and for advanced training in the basic sciences in Latin America. The Director-General was also authorized to promote and administer, beginning in 1965, a six-year campaign of fellowships (financed wholly or partly by member states) to enable creative artists, writers and composers to undertake studies abroad.

Budgetary Questions

As the thirteenth session of the General Conference got under way, there was considerable divergence of opinion regarding the provisional budget ceiling that should be adopted for 1965-1966, and it was only after a protracted debate that a figure of \$48.9 million was settled on by a roll-call vote of 74 in favour and 17 against (Canada), with 13 abstentions. This decision was taken after figures of \$48.12 and \$50 million had failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in earlier voting. Canada was among those supporting a figure of \$48.12 million, and the chairman of the delegation intervened during the budget debate to make the Canadian position known. He urged that, if additional resources were required to meet essential expenses which had not been anticipated, these resources should be found through savings and elimination of marginal projects. He also used the opportunity to call for improvements in the procedures for preparing the budget and for a more rational approach in the use of the Working Capital Fund. Following the completion of the work of the Programme and Administrative Commissions, the Conference's last item of substantive business was the adoption of a final budget figure of \$48.8 million by a vote of 76-0-15 (Canada). This final figure was slightly lower than the provisional ceiling because of two factors: (a) minor savings achieved by the Administrative Commission in the area of salary scales; (b) the effort of many delegations and the Secretariat to ensure that new items with budgetary implications were added to the draft programme.

Staff salaries

The UNESCO Secretariat conducted a survey in Paris in April and May 1964 and, based on its results, the Director-General recommended to the thirteenth session of the General Conference new salary scales for general-service personnel. Following consideration of these salary scales by a working party on management questions in the Administrative Commission, the plenary session of the Conference adopted a proposal whereby the application of the Director-General's pay scales would be delayed for three months from the date which he had originally recommended.

Headquarters

The twelfth session of the General Conference had authorized the construction of a fourth building on the headquarters site in Paris, and construction is now well under way. It also authorized preliminary planning for a fifth building on a new site to be provided by the French Government in the Garibaldi-Miollis area. The architect retained for this project proposed a uniform tower rising 26 storeys, though the French authorities were unable to grant permission for the time being for the erection of a building of this size on this site. They proposed, however, that, by June 1965, they should either give approval for a building of suitable size on the Garibaldi-Miollis site or make available another site in the immediate neighbourhood of UNESCO headquarters on which such a building could be erected. The amount of money that would be required for the new building was substantial; estimates based on 1964 prices indicated that the proposed tower would cost about \$6,400,000 without air conditioning and \$8,700,000 with it.

Since space in the centre of Paris will always be at a premium, the French Government has apparently given some thought to making space for international organizations available at some convenient site on the outskirts of the city. Their ideas are not yet fully worked out, but they have agreed to put a proposal to UNESCO by March 1966, so that it can be considered at the fourteenth General Conference.

Conclusion

As the thirteenth session of the General Conference, concluded on November 20, the Canadian delegation was able to review the meeting's constructive accomplishments. The principal source of satisfaction was the fact that the General Conference had applied itself, for the most part, to the practical and constructive tasks within UNESCO's competence on the basis of an integrated and consolidated programme of work. Much credit was due to the Director-General and the Secretariat, in consultation with governments and with the Executive Board, for the systematic preparation of the programme, for the thoroughness with which the preliminary work had been done, and for the fact that undesirable programme changes had been resisted in the course of the Conference. Apart from certain issues, which to most delegations were clearly political and controversial in char-

acter, the thirteenth session was marked for the most part by the desire of the great majority of delegations to concentrate on the programme and budget for 1965-1966 of this important Specialized Agency in its assigned fields of education, science and culture.

CANADIAN DELEGATION

Head of delegation	Dr. Henry Hicks, President, Dalhousie University, President, Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, Halifax;
Deputy Head	Mr. S. F. Rae, Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the Euro- pean Office of the United Nations, Geneva, Switzerland;
Delegates	Professor W. A. C. H. Dobson, Department of East Asiatic Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario; Mr. L. V. J. Roy, Canadian Permanent Delegate to UNESCO, Paris, France; Dr. J. Tuzo Wilson, Professor of Geophysics, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario; . .
Alternates	Professor Yves Dubé, Director of the Department of Economics, Faculty of Social Sciences, Laval University, Quebec City, Quebec; Madame Sylva Lamothe, Provincial President and National Vice-President of the Canadian UNICEF Committee, Outremont, Quebec; Mr. C. B. Routley, Acting Executive Secretary, Canadian Education Association, Toronto, Ontario; Mr. Gordon Selman, Acting Director, Department of University Extension, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.;

Advisers	Mr. D. W. Bartlett, Acting Secretary-General, Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, Ottawa, Ontario; Mr. C. J. Marshall, Canadian Delegation to the Conference of the Eighteen- Nations Commission on Disarmament, Geneva, Switzerland;
Secretary	Mr. R. Plourde, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Ontario.

Canada and the Inter-American Development Bank

THE CANADIAN Government has entered into an agreement with the Inter-American Development Bank, under which Canada will make available up to \$10 million (Canadian) to finance economic, technical and educational assistance projects in Latin America.

The agreement setting out the arrangements under which the Bank will act on behalf of Canada as administrator of projects agreed on was signed in New York on December 4, 1964, by the Honourable Paul Martin, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, and by Mr. Felipe Herrera, President of the Inter-American Development Bank. The signing ceremony took place at the offices of the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations.

The Bank will use the funds to make loans for such programmes and projects as may be agreed on for periods up to 50 years, depending on the type of operation under financing. The loans may be free of interest or may be made under such other concessional terms as are agreed to by Canada and the Bank. Repayment will be in Canadian dollars. Loans will bear appropriate service charges.

In the past, Canada has co-operated with the Inter-American Bank through parallel financing operations and through the purchase by Canadian banks of



The Honourable Paul Martin, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs (left), and Mr. Felipe Herrera, President of the Inter-American Development Bank, sign an agreement for the financing of assistance projects in Latin America.

participations in Inter-American Bank loans for economic development projects in Latin America. In addition, Canadian investors have purchased bonds sold by the Bank in the United States market.

Under the agreement, the Bank will have primary responsibility for selecting and processing loan projects and for establishing the terms and conditions for the loans in accordance with the provisions of the agreement, applying the operational procedures it normally uses in operations with its own resources. The Bank will consult Canada during the various stages of project consideration. Loan contracts agreed on will be signed by the Bank on behalf of the Canadian Government.

Proceeds of the loans made under the agreement will be used for the purchase of goods and services in Canada under a competitive bidding system among Canadian suppliers.

Provision has been made in the agreement for the possible allocation of additional funds in the future.

The Inter-American Development Bank was founded on December 30, 1959, by 20 American nations as the regional agency to accelerate the economic development of Latin America.

This is the first time the Bank has entered into an agreement to administer funds of a non-member country. In April 1964, the Board of Governors recommended that the Executive Directors of the Bank study measures designed to make possible and facilitate the participation of countries that are not at present members in the provision of additional resources to the Bank to help stimulate the development of Latin America.

Colombo Plan Consultative Committee

The following communiqué was issued at the end of the 1964 meeting in London of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan:

The sixteenth meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia took place in London from November 17 to 20, 1964. The Right Honourable Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, delivered an inaugural address. The leader of the United Kingdom delegation, Mrs. Barbara Castle, was elected chairman of the meeting.

2. Countries represented at the meeting were: Afghanistan, Australia, Bhutan, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, the Maldive Islands, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, the United States and Vietnam. Cambodia was not represented.

3. The meeting was attended by the Director and Staff from the Colombo Plan Bureau. Observers were present from the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the United Nations Technical Assistance Board and Special Fund and the Asian Productivity Organization.

4. The Consultative Committee reviewed economic development in the region during the past year and the progress of the Colombo Plan. An assessment was made of the tasks ahead of the countries of the region. The Committee adopted the annual report, which was drafted by officials at their meeting, preceding the meeting of the Consultative Committee.

5. The Committee agreed that the Colombo Plan should be extended for a further period of five years, from 1966 to 1971.

6. The Committee recognized the importance of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which has inaugurated a new phase in the international discussion of problems of development. The Committee has itself devoted much attention to many of the problems with which the Conference concerned itself, and the Committee expressed the hope that the Committee would continue to play a creative role in seeking solutions for these problems with special reference to the needs of the region.

7. The Committee noted that, as in earlier years, there were wide disparities over the past year in the rate of growth in real terms of gross national product among the developing countries in the Colombo Plan region. There were also great differences between the rates of increase in population. However, it can be said that the gain in real national income per head was, in general, only about half that in total national income. The Committee recognized the implications of rapid population growth for the possibilities of achieving an early substantial improvement in living standards.

8. The indications are that the total agricultural output in the region continued to rise only modestly in 1963-64; there were occasional food shortages in some countries. Nevertheless, many countries secured significant increases in agricultural production for export and in export earnings. Industrial production continued to expand in the region as a whole in 1963, though it is to be borne in mind that the economy of the area is still dominated by agriculture and only some countries have as yet a significant industrial sector.

9. There was a substantial increase in development expenditures in many countries in the region during 1963; other expenditures also rose, particularly on defence. Despite the efforts made by some countries to mobilize domestic resources there was some resort to deficit financing and, therefore, an increase in money supply and in the domestic price level in many countries. Individual countries of the region experienced problems in maintaining internal financial stability, which varied in acuteness, and they had varying degrees of success in combatting them. Continued efforts will be necessary to pursue policies which will maintain financial stability while not inhibiting investment in essential development.

10. Development in the region depends heavily on export earnings, and this, in turn, is strongly influenced by changes in the prices of the region's main primary commodities, mainly rubber, tin, jute and tea. Experience was varied during the period; but, because of increased production and more favourable prices for some products during the year 1963-64, the value of exports from the region rose considerably. By contrast, imports rose much less, partly because of restrictions imposed by member countries in 1962-63 in order to halt the deterioration in their external-trade position. There was, however, some further rise in import prices. The net result was an improvement in the trade balance and, consequently, in the balance on current account of the region and in the reserves of member countries.

11. The Committee noted that the achievement of adequate growth depended, among other things, on an increase of the trade of developing economies with the industrially-advanced countries and with each other. Stabilization of the prices of primary commodities at reasonable levels and access both for these and for manufactures in world markets will continue to call for attention in the coming years.

12. The level of public expenditure in development per head over the area as a whole remains low, and measures are urgently necessary to accelerate the rate of investment and to moderate the rapid rate of population growth.

13. There has been some increase in the amount of aid available to countries of the region, though this has resulted from the more rapid disbursement of aid previously committed rather than from an increase in new commitments. Aid on a large scale will continue to be necessary if the area as a whole is to be able to finance development programmes at the same time as financing its essential current imports.

14. The total aid provided by Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the U.S. to countries in the region since the beginning of the Plan rose to \$14,864 million. The value of the aid contributed in 1963-64 was \$2,165 million. In addition, an increasing amount of aid is being provided by regional members to each other and there is substantial private investment in countries within the region from member countries outside.

15. Some member countries have taken steps to make aid available on easier terms during the past year. The resources of the International Development Association (which includes several members of the Colombo Plan among its major contributors and which has contributed largely to financing development in the region on easy terms) have been increased. Most aid continues to be tied to purchases from the donor countries, though there has been an increase in the proportion of aid not tied to specified projects. Further efforts will be needed to provide aid on liberal terms and conditions and thus assist in dealing with the problem of the accumulation of external debt.

16. The Consultative Committee recognized the importance of intra-regional training and emphasized that there was scope for considerable expansion in this field. It welcomed the appointment of the Adviser on Intra-Regional Training and took note of the recommendations in the report which he circulated to it. The Committee also welcomed the attention drawn to the importance of the co-ordination by member countries of their capital and technical-assistance programmes and welcomed the action which certain countries were taking, or considering taking, in order to expand their own capacities to recruit more qualified experts and provide training facilities in certain fields where demand exceeds supply.

17. In accordance with the precedent set in 1962, a selected topic of special interest to member governments is discussed each year. The topic selected for discussion this year was "Development Problems of the Rural Areas". In most of South and Southeast Asia, the rural sector accounts for the greater part of gross national product and occupies an overwhelming majority of the working population. Many countries' earnings of foreign exchange are heavily dependent on agricultural exports. In many countries there is widespread unemployment and under-employment in rural areas. The Committee noted with concern that while demand for food was increasing constantly, both because of population growth and because of higher incomes, current food production seems barely to be keeping ahead of population growth. It was felt that priority should be given to expanding agricultural output. At the same time, it was suggested, governments should not think of rural development in isolation but should try to achieve a balanced growth between agricultural and industrial sectors.

18. Factors on which successful development of the rural areas must depend include adequate national planning and administration, applied research, advisory and extension services, improved seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation, mechanization, transport and other infrastructure, marketing and price arrangements,

credit and incentives for farmers, systems of land tenure, social reforms and community development.

19. The special topic for discussion at next year's meeting of the Consultative Committee will be "The Relationship Between Population and Economic Development in the Colombo Plan Area".

20. The Consultative Committee agreed that in 1966 the Information Committee should be a Committee of the Whole; that each member government should endeavour to send to that meeting a specialist information officer; and that it should discuss the role of information and mass communications in economic and social development.

21. The Consultative Committee welcomed the invitation of the Government of Pakistan to hold the 1965 meeting in Karachi.

Canada at Katunayake

THE Katunayake International Airport Project in Ceylon was inaugurated on November 16, 1964, at a ceremony attended by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and the Honourable Mr. Yvon Dupuis, Canadian Minister without Portfolio. Members of the Ceylon Cabinet and the diplomatic corps were among the large gathering that witnessed the event. This project, which will provide Ceylon with a first-class international airport in close proximity to Colombo (Katunayake is about 20 miles from the capital), is being undertaken jointly by the Canadian and Ceylon Governments under the Colombo Plan. The principal Canadian contribution, equivalent to \$3.6 million, is in the form of grant aid requiring no repayment by Ceylon.

Remarks by Mrs. Bandaranaike

Referring in her address to the Canadian Government's "large-hearted generosity", the Prime Minister said that this was the biggest single contribution made by Canada to Ceylon and "came at a time when we needed this assistance most". Mrs. Bandaranaike recalled that in 1942 it had been a Canadian pilot who gave



Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, looks on as Mr. Yvon Dupuis, Canadian Minister without Portfolio, officiates at one of the ceremonies marking the inauguration of the Katunayake Airport project.

Ceylon timely warning of the approach of a hostile Japanese fleet. (The reference was to Air Commodore L. J. Birchall, vice-president of the newly-formed Ceylon-Canada Friendship Association.) This tradition of assisting Ceylon had been continued in the post-independence era, the Prime Minister said, referring to the various forms of assistance given by Canada in the development of Ceylon's economy. "This was an act of friendship from a brotherly Commonwealth country which our people will not easily forget," she added.

Reply by Mr. Dupuis

In his reply, Mr. Dupuis stated that the Canada-Ceylon aid programme under the Colombo Plan was a joint endeavour employing Canadian aid and Ceylon's own resources for the economic development of the country. He expressed the hope that the project would symbolize the achievements not only of this programme but of the Colombo Plan as a whole, and that it "would prove to be a worthy symbol of Canadian-Ceylonese co-operation". "There is a special aspect of Ceylon's economic development to which I hope this new airport will contribute," he said, "and that is to the growth of the tourist industry in Ceylon by creating an aerial gateway to the island."

"I should add," the Minister went on "that it is also the Canadian Government's intention that, in the year 1964-65, the level of the Canadian technical-assistance programme for Ceylon should be fully maintained and that, as in the past years, another Colombo Plan allocation of 10,000 tons of wheat flour is being made to Ceylon to generate rupee funds to meet the local costs of development projects. I am confident that this project will be a further example of how the idea of joint co-operation can be effectively translated into practice in the common tasks of economic development. May Canada and Ceylon continue to work together to ensure a better and a richer life for their own peoples and (those) of other countries, for it is only in a prosperous and contented world that the peace can be ensured."

Visit of British Prime Minister to Ottawa

Prime Minister Harold Wilson, accompanied by Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, the Foreign Minister, and Mr. Arthur Bottomley, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and other prominent members of the British Cabinet, spent December 9 and 10 in Ottawa conferring with senior Canadian officials, following talks in Washington with President Johnson. Among the topics discussed were: the recent British proposals for an Atlantic nuclear force; difficulties facing the NATO Alliance; the future of the Commonwealth; and Western relations with Communist China. Mr. Wilson and his party left Ottawa for London on completion of the talks, aboard a special BOAC "Britannia" airliner.



At a dinner on December 9 at the official residence of the Prime Minister of Canada, in honour of the visit of the British Prime Minister (left to right): the Honourable Patrick Gordon Walker, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Prime Minister Pearson; the Honourable Lionel Chevrier, Canadian High Commissioner to Britain; Prime Minister Wilson; the Honourable Paul Martin, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs. Earlier that day, Mr. Wilson, on his arrival at RCAF Station Uplands, had inspected a guard of honour.

Visit of Australian Minister for External Affairs

THE AUSTRALIAN Minister for External Affairs and Mrs. Paul Hasluck, accompanied by Mr. Patrick Shaw, Deputy Secretary of the Australian Department of External Affairs, and by Mr. Donald Kingsmill, an official of the Department, visited Ottawa from November 26 to 29, 1964. Mr. and Mrs. Hasluck were received by the Governor-General and Madame Vanier, and the Foreign Minister had discussions with the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, and with senior officials in Ottawa.

Mr. Hasluck possesses a distinguished record of service in many fields. He began his career as a journalist and a lecturer at the University of Western Australia. In 1941, he joined the Australian Department of External Affairs, and he represented his country at the United Nations in 1946 and on various international commissions thereafter. Mr. Hasluck left the Department and was elected a member of the Australian House of Representatives in 1949, serving as Minister for Territories from 1951 to 1961 and as Minister for Defence from 1963 until his present appointment as Minister for External Affairs in April of this year. He has also achieved considerable distinction as an author, having participated in the writing of the official history of Australia in the 1939-45 war and published, as well, numerous works concerning native welfare in Australia.

The Australian External Affairs Minister's visit to Ottawa was part of a round-the-world trip which had already taken him to Cairo, Rome, Moscow, Berlin, Brussels, Bonn, Geneva, Paris, London and Washington. In London he led the Australian delegation to the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee conference. After his visit to Ottawa he proceeded to New York to head the Australian delegation to the United Nations, and addressed the General Assembly on December 11.

Australian Position in World Affairs

At a press conference held on November 27, 1964, Mr. Hasluck was asked for his views on aspects of the international situation affecting Australia. He first referred to what he termed the "naked aggression" existing in Southeast Asia. It was in response to the threat posed by this aggression, Mr. Hasluck observed, that Australia had recently re-instituted national selective service and had undertaken considerable enlargements in its defence programme. During the next three years Australian military expenditures will be almost double the 1963 figures, and the armed forces will be increased by 20,800 men, to a total of 74,700. Since 1962 an Australian training team of 30 army instructors has been engaged in training government forces in South Vietnam. This team has now been increased to some 80 instructors and advisers. Six "Caribou" aircraft have been dispatched to South



The Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Hasluck (left), in conversation with Mr. Paul Martin, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Vietnam for assistance in air-transport tasks. Australian economic aid to South Vietnam is at present maintained at a level of about \$1.5 million a year. Australia has also responded to Malaysia's appeal for Commonwealth assistance in that country's efforts to resist Indonesian "confrontation". In addition to the stationing of troops and naval vessels in Malaysia, Australia is providing equipment, ammunition, training and secondment of personnel to the Malaysian armed forces

to a value of some \$6,750,000 during 1964. Australian troops were engaged in active combat with Indonesian invaders late in October, when a company of Australian soldiers joined Malaysian security forces in rounding up troops landed by the Indonesians on the Malayan coast.

Mr. Hasluck observed that the Indonesian attacks on Malaysia constituted a "very peculiar war". Although Australian soldiers had been in action against the Indonesians, Australia still maintained diplomatic and outwardly friendly relations with Indonesia. Australia continued to trade with Indonesia, he observed and, in buying more than it sold to Indonesia, undoubtedly strengthened that country economically. "But", the Minister added, "in these days we cannot be old-fashioned in such matters."

With reference to his recent attendance at the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee meeting, Mr. Hasluck was asked if he could foresee an end to the need for Colombo Plan assistance. He observed that aid given through the Plan could be increased a hundredfold and still not meet all the needs of recipient nations. These needs would continue for the foreseeable future, he added; the population problems involved in improving standards of living were well understood and would, in fact, form the main topic of discussion at the next meeting of the participants in the Colombo Plan.

To an enquiry as to whether Australia was concerned with foreign control of its industry, Mr. Hasluck replied that such control posed no problem in Australia and that foreign capital was most welcome there.

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

TENTH GENERAL CONFERENCE, 1964

THE TENTH general conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association was held in Kingston, Jamaica, in November 1964. A two-week familiarization tour, during which visits were made to other West Indian islands and to Jamaican bauxite mines, sugar plantations, citrus groves, experimental farms, new housing and industrial developments, and to council meetings and local civic activities in Kingston, preceded the one-week conference, held on the main campus of the University of the West Indies. Tours of this nature are a regular feature of these now annual conferences, through which delegates gain considerable insight into conditions in the host countries and provide an informal forum for discussion of common problems.



Conference leaders at the Tenth General Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (left to right): the Honourable William B. Tennant of New Zealand, vice-chairman of the CPA General Council; the Honourable Donald B. Sangster, Jamaican Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, chairman of the conference; Senator the Honourable A. W. Roebuck, Canada.

The 1964 conference agenda fell under four main headings: Commonwealth trade and external aid; Commonwealth institutions and the way ahead for the Commonwealth; international affairs; and the future of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Under the first two headings, such subjects as greater educational assistance to emerging Commonwealth nations, the formation of a Commonwealth Secretariat in London to disseminate information to all member countries on matters of common concern, and the possibility of a Commonwealth common market and development fund were discussed and greeted with enthusiasm by the many delegates.

The Canadian delegation, which consisted of eight federal parliamentarians and delegates from provincial legislatures, was headed by Mr. Jean T. Richard M.P., Senator A. W. Roebuck, who was chairman of the first Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, held in New Zealand in 1950, was a special guest of this year's chairman, the Honourable D. B. Sangster, the Deputy Prime Minister of Jamaica.

The following message was received from the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson:

I am delighted to send my cordial greetings to all Commonwealth parliamentarians who are assembled at this Conference. I am particularly pleased that you are meeting this year in Jamaica, Canada's closest neighbour in the Commonwealth.

Canada is looking forward to celebrating its hundredth birthday in 1967. In that year, the CPA will hold its annual conference in Canada, and I am looking forward with pleasure and anticipation to welcoming many of you to Ottawa in that year of our centenary.

I wish now to acknowledge the important and valuable work the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association performs in promoting friendship and understanding between member countries of the Commonwealth. In order to give effect to the sentiments expressed at the July 1964 meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers, I am pleased to inform you that the Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons is recommending that there be at least a doubling of the funds provided by Parliament for the use of the Canadian Parliamentary Association. Of course, I am prepared to give my wholehearted support to this recommendation of the Speaker of the House.

I would like to add my best wishes for a most successful 1964 Conference.

Mr. Martin Meets Mr. Couve de Murville

Following is the text of a joint communiqué issued at the close of the talks between the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, and the Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Couve de Murville, in Paris on December 13, 1964:

In the framework of the consultations arranged between the Canadian and French Governments, the Honourable Paul Martin and Mr. Couve de Murville met on December 13, 1964. They exchanged views on international problems and on questions of mutual interest to their two countries.

The conversations first dealt with international affairs. On the eve of the NATO ministerial meeting, the two ministers reviewed the main questions concerning the organization. They exchanged views on the work of the UN. The situation in Southeast Asia and particularly the role of the International Control and Supervisory Commissions were also examined.



Mr. Paul Martin, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs (left), in conversation with Mr. Couve de Murville, the Foreign Minister of France.

Secondly, the two ministers were pleased to see the favourable conditions in which co-operation between Canada and France is developing. They recorded their satisfaction with the understanding reached on the opening of two new Canadian consulates general in France, one in Marseilles and the other in Bordeaux.

In the economic field, the ministers emphasized the importance of developing trade relations between the two countries and the usefulness in this respect of sending a Canadian economic mission to France, as well as the possibility of arranging a meeting of the Canada-France Joint Committee. They expressed their desire to see an increase in cultural exchanges between Canada and France. They decided to open negotiations shortly on a general agreement in this field.

At the end of this meeting, the two ministers noted with satisfaction the large measure of agreement between them and the spirit of cordiality and mutual understanding that had marked their conversation.

Inauguration of the Republic of Kenya

On December 12, the first anniversary of its independence, Kenya became a republic within the Commonwealth. Prime Minister L. B. Pearson sent the following message of congratulation to President Jomo Kenyatta:

On behalf of the people of Canada and personally, I wish to extend to you and the people of Kenya a reaffirmation of Canada's goodwill on the historic occasion of the inauguration of the Republic of Kenya. The Canadian Government values the friendship and co-operation of our two countries as fellow members of the Commonwealth and we look forward to a strengthening of these ties between us.

I should like to add my warm congratulations to you as the first President of the Republic of Kenya and to wish you all success in the future.

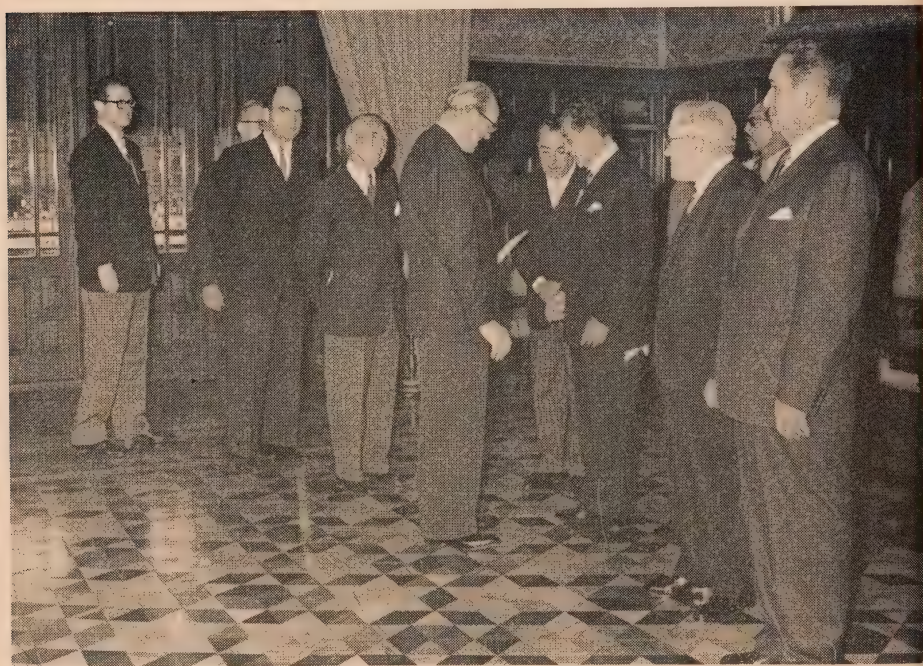


President Kenyatta takes the oath of office during ceremonies in Nairobi marking the inauguration of Kenya as a republic within the Commonwealth.

Canada's Special Mission to the Inauguration of the New President of Mexico

THE HONOURABLE J. Watson MacNaught, Solicitor-General of Canada, was appointed Special Ambassador to represent the Government of Canada at the ceremonies in Mexico City on December 1 marking the inauguration of Mr. Gustavo Diaz Ordaz as President of the United States of Mexico. The Mission also included the Canadian Ambassador to Mexico, Mr. H. F. B. Feaver, and other members of the Canadian Embassy in Mexico City. Mr. MacNaught conveyed to President Diaz the good wishes of the Canadian Government and people. Mr. MacNaught was accompanied by his wife at the various ceremonies in connection with the inauguration which were held in the Mexican capital from November 28 to December 3.

President Diaz, a member of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), was elected with an overwhelming majority of the votes cast in the elections early in July 1964 to replace the retiring President, Mr. Adolfo Lopez Mateos, who had been elected for the constitutional six-year term of office in July 1958.



The Solicitor-General of Canada, the Honourable J. Watson MacNaught, Canadian Special Ambassador to the inauguration of the new President of Mexico, Mr. Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, presents his Letters of Credence to the outgoing President of Mexico, Mr. Adolfo Lopez Mateos.

External Affairs in Parliament

Report on the NATO Ministerial Meeting

The following statement was made in the House of Commons on December 18 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin:

. . . This was a useful and encouraging meeting. In fact, I think it was the most useful of the four which I have attended, for we discussed matters which are at the heart of the Alliance in a spirit of candour and tolerance. As so often happens, the meeting was preceded by reports of crisis, but an alliance which can discuss its difficulties in the spirit I have described is strong and healthy.

That differences exist is, of course, well known, and this is particularly the case with regard to the nuclear arrangements of the Alliance. I went to the meeting with the strong belief that the various proposals that had been made for nuclear arrangements should continue to be discussed in the NATO forum and that no decisions on these important questions should be taken without full consultation in NATO. During the meeting, I expressed this belief, which was shared by others, and Paragraph 8 of the communiqué reflects this view¹.

I should like to make quite clear that in urging NATO discussion of these issues, we are not aligning ourselves for or against any other member of the Alliance. What we are doing is seeking a way to reinforce the unity of the Alliance. It is for this reason that the Canadian Government has consistently maintained that any new arrangements must be related to the essential purposes of NATO.

We also discussed Cyprus in a restricted meeting of ministers. We were given a report from the Secretary-General which covered the conscientious efforts which he and his predecessor, Mr. Stikker, had made under the watching brief entrusted to them to try to bring Greece and Turkey together. Without the intervention of the NATO Secretary-General, the dangers arising from the tension between Greece and Turkey and the threat to the stability of the southeastern flank of NATO might well have increased.

After hearing statements from the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey, I appealed to the sense of responsibility of the two Governments and urged them to do all they could to exert a moderating influence on the two communities in Cyprus. I reiterated the need for renewed efforts to reach agreement on a negotiated settlement. I also urged that restraint on the part of the Governments of Greece and Turkey could be an even more influential factor than the activities of the NATO Secretary-General. It was, of course, understood that the watching brief of the NATO Secretary-General, which the Council reviewed, should continue to be in support of the mediatory and peace-keeping role of the United

¹See Page 12 of this issue.

Nations. That role is of primary interest to Canada as a contributor to the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus.

I may say that the Government expects to receive a request from the Secretary-General of the United Nations today to agree to a renewal of Canadian participation in the United Nations Force for a further period of three months, and that the Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations will be authorized to convey the Government's agreement to this request.

It has been the Canadian view for some time past that, if NATO is to continue as a dynamic alliance, its members must consider carefully the kind of alliance most suited to their national needs and to conditions in the future. The importance of examining the Alliance's future was recognized at The Hague meeting, where ministers had their first exchange of views on this subject. At this recent meeting I advanced the view that there should be a study of the state of the Alliance and the commonly accepted purposes and principles of NATO, to be undertaken in the first instance by the Permanent Council. I am pleased to be able to report that this view finds clear expression in Paragraph 4 of the communiqué¹.

We believe the unity of the Alliance is best served by using to the fullest possible extent the machinery of consultation which NATO provides. It was with this aim in view that, as I have just mentioned, we advocated a full and continuous examination of the state of the Alliance and of its purposes and objectives.

I cannot recall a more searching discussion at any of these meetings. We did not evade the problems of the Alliance, even the United States and British proposals for multilateral defence arrangements. We heard and welcomed, in unmistakable terms, assurances of mutual confidence and co-operation based on a unanimous recognition of the fact that at least as long as the threat of aggression in a divided Europe continues, the need for the Alliance remains as compelling as ever.

While NATO has survived successive crises, I hasten to add that I found no state of crisis in the Alliance but a healthy recognition of the perplexing problems of the international scene and a desire to come to grips with them.

I had talks with the French Foreign Minister which were part of a series in the ministerial consultations between Canada and France begun last January at the time the Prime Minister and I visited General de Gaulle and members of the French Government. I had an extensive conversation in this connection on December 13 with Mr. Couve de Murville at the Quai d'Orsay. The French Foreign Minister and I exchanged views on a number of NATO issues and reviewed several subjects of current interest to both our countries, including defence².

Finally, I took the opportunity on December 14 to attend the opening of the new Consulate General of Canada at Bordeaux. This marks a further significant stage in the rapidly broadening relations between France and Canada.

¹See Page 11 of this issue.

²See Page 41 of this issue.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee: Geneva, in recess. September 17.

Governing Body of ILO and its Committees, 161st session: Geneva, February 15 - March 15, 1965.

United Nations Human Rights Commission: Geneva, March 22 - April 15, 1965.

International Labour Conference, 49th session: Geneva, June 2-24, 1965.

Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH), eighth general assembly: Guatemala, June 25 - July 10, 1965.

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. O. G. Stoner transferred to the Privy Council Office effective October 30, 1964.
- Mr. G. Grondin posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York. Left Ottawa November 11, 1964.
- Mr. T. C. Bacon posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, to Ottawa. Left Accra November 15, 1964.
- Mr. P. A. Lapointe posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to Ottawa. Left Paris November 22, 1964.
- Mr. R. Choquette appointed Canadian Consul General, Bordeaux. Left Ottawa November 24, 1964.
- Mr. A. D. Small posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, to Ottawa. Left Lagos November 26, 1964.
- Mr. H. F. Davis transferred to the Privy Council Office effective November 30, 1964.
- Mr. F. A. E. Ward posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa. Left Tokyo November 30, 1964.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

Subscription rates: Two dollars a year

(students, one dollar) post free.

Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,

should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII No. 2

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Canada's Tribute to Sir Winston Churchill

Statement by the Prime Minister, the Right
Honourable L. B. Pearson

24 January 1965

All Canadians are grief stricken by the news of Sir Winston's death. It is hard to believe that this supreme incarnation of the human spirit is now stilled. Our sympathy and prayers go out to Lady Churchill, who has shared and strengthened his unparalleled career, and whose contribution to his great achievements only he could fully value.

Despite the inevitability of this day, despite the fullness and sweep of his 90 years, no one who lived through the forties—when his voice inspired free men to their greatest victory—will learn without the deepest sorrow that the end of the road has been reached by the dominant personality of our century.

Sir Winston has passed on, but the example of his courage, the majesty of his words, the inspiration of his leadership and of his life—these will endure for all time.

Defiant in defeat, far-sighted in victory, warm-hearted, high-souled, broad-minded, he was the greatest leader of our time. But he was more than that. His life touched every vital human activity and mastered most of them. He was no demigod, aloof on Olympus, but the warmest of human beings, with whom it was easy, and tempting, to identify oneself.

That is why his death brings a sense of personal grief and loss to millions who never knew or saw him.

We shall not see his like again. May God rest his great heart and soul.



KARSH

International Co-operation Year

BY A RESOLUTION of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, the year 1965 was designated "International Co-operation Year", and Canada was named to and played a leading part in the United Nations committee established to draw up plans and programmes for the ICY. A comprehensive plan of activities to take place within Canada has also been drafted, with the aim of awakening people to the opportunities for co-operation in the world and to promote the expansion of present programmes of individual co-operation. In addition, the Canadian Government encouraged the development of an active non-governmental organization in Canada, the Canadian Conference of the International Co-operation Year. On January 1, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, issued the following statement:

"Today, January 1, 1965, is the beginning of the United Nations International Co-operation Year, a year which also marks the twentieth anniversary of the world organization.

"The aim of International Co-operation Year is to focus world attention on those areas of international activity where co-operation exists, rather than on those areas of dispute which at present divide the peoples of the world. I hope that the events planned for this year will bring home to all Canadians the essential interdependence of all countries, and the necessity to build on and increase our involvement in the world. Just as Canada has given a lead in developing plans for the International Co-operation Year, so Canadians can give a lead to the world in carrying out these programmes, and in developing a sense of kinship with other peoples and nations.

"The Committee for International Co-operation Year in Canada, a non-governmental organization instituted for co-ordination of Canadian projects for ICY, has asked all levels of government, interested organizations, and individuals to participate in the International Co-operation Year. This Committee, under the capable leadership of Dr. J. Roby Kidd, has set up headquarters in Ottawa, and all individuals with suggestions or who wish to assist in any way are urged to contact them. A host of projects in the scientific, cultural, and social fields have been suggested by Canadians in all parts of our nation, and many of these activities, including book donations by Canadian schools to their counterparts in less-developed countries, town-twinning projects, food shipments, adoption of a universal ICY postage stamp and educational seminars, are being implemented. I hope the primary impetus in International Co-operation Year will come from non-governmental organizations and individual Canadians, whose increased awareness of world affairs must be the basis for international co-operation and the quest for peace.

"I therefore ask all Canadians to join in making the International Co-operation Year a success, and to bend their efforts to develop a keener sense of international responsibility and personal involvement in the affairs of the world!"

United Nations General Assembly

NINETEENTH SESSION — THE FIRST MONTH

THE PROBLEM of financing United Nations peace-keeping operations and, by extension, the organization's efforts to maintain international peace and security completely dominated the first month of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. The immediate problem arose out of the accumulated arrears which, at the end of 1964, amounted to \$115 million, 98 per cent of which represented unpaid assessments for the peace-keeping operations in the Middle East (UNEF) and the Congo (ONUC). The Soviet Union and six of its allies were sufficiently in arrears to be subject to Article 19 of the Charter, which stipulates loss of vote in the General Assembly for a defaulting state when arrears exceed the total of assessed contributions for the two previous years. These states, however, continue to deny that the UNEF and ONUC assessments authorized by the General Assembly are binding obligations to which Article 19 would be relevant. The Soviet Union has termed the peace-keeping assessments "illegal" and argued that the Security Council alone had jurisdiction over all facets of United Nations peace keeping.

Canada and the majority of members maintained that the General Assembly had residual authority in the peace-keeping field and was fully competent to impose assessments on its member states for the costs of all duly-authorized peace-keeping operations. In their view, the 1962 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice accepted by the seventeenth session of the General Assembly established conclusively that the UNEF and ONUC expenditures were "expenses of the organization", which all members were obliged to pay or run the risk of subsequent loss of vote under Article 19. In Canada's view, the penalty is mandatory unless the arrears are reduced to a permissible level.

With neither side prepared to give way on the important points of principle at stake, it was agreed to postpone the opening of the session until December 1 in the hope that the problem could be solved by negotiation. As a further measure to avoid a confrontation between East and West, it was subsequently decided, as an interim expedient, to avoid dealing with issues requiring voting during the initial weeks of the session. Although negotiations on the financial issue went on while the session was in progress in December and during the three-week additional recess in January, little headway toward an acceptable compromise was made. The issue was still very much to the fore when the General Assembly reconvened on January 18.

Though much restricted in its work by the agreement not to take votes, the General Assembly was able to deal with a few matters. These were the election of Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana as President of the General Assembly,

the appointment of the Credentials Committee, the admission of Malawi, Malta and Zambia as new members and the approval of a resolution establishing the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as an organ of the General Assembly. The General Assembly also authorized the Secretary-General to expend funds at levels not in excess of those of 1964 and authorized the United Nations agencies to proceed with the technical assistance projects for 1965 already approved by the Technical Assistance Committee. Finally, it dealt with the Security Council elections, named the Netherlands and Uruguay to the West European and Latin American seats for the normal two-year period, confirmed the split-term arrangement, agreed upon at the last session, in which Malaysia would succeed Czechoslovakia in 1965, and agreed that the remaining vacancy should be divided between Jordan and Mali, with the former filling it in 1965 and the latter in 1966. Each, however, would receive a full two-year term if the amendment to the Charter enlarging the Council were to be ratified in 1965 by the requisite number of member states.



On November 11, 1964, Mr. Richard P. Bower (left) presented his credentials to President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea as first Canadian Ambassador to that country. Mr. Bower is concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Japan. On December 21, a Korean Embassy was opened in Ottawa; since January 1963, the Permanent Observer of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations has been accredited Ambassador to Canada.

Expo '67

EXTRACTS FROM THE REMARKS OF THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE
HELD ON THE SITE OF THE CANADIAN UNIVERSAL AND INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION ON NOVEMBER 21, 1964.

IT HAS BEEN a great pleasure for me . . . to have heard at first hand of the splendid progress which is being made in the planning and organization of Expo '67 by the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

. . . Before coming to Montreal today I had, of course, some knowledge of the progress being made, both on the site here in the beautiful St. Lawrence and on the Exhibition as a whole, by the Corporation. The Department of External Affairs, both in Ottawa and through its missions abroad, is in constant touch with the Corporation, and I have heard much about the Exhibition from my colleague the Minister of Trade and Commerce, who is the member of Cabinet directly responsible for it. It is quite another experience, however, to be able to hear about their work directly from those immediately engaged in the planning of the Exhibition, and then to see the magnificent site where these plans will be realized.

. . . The 1967 World Exhibition is scheduled to be a central element in the celebration of Canada's centennial in 1967, and as such it must be a true reflection of this great country, of its past achievements and its future possibilities, at the conclusion of its first century of nationhood. After my visit today, I am more than satisfied that Expo '67 will meet this difficult challenge.

An All-Embracing Theme

The theme of the 1967 World Exhibition is to be "Terre des Hommes", or "Man and His World", a theme which embraces all the achievements of the human being, and which encompasses also the spiritual and material aspirations of a world in evolution. It is a theme that offers to the Exhibition's organizers and its exhibitors, both Canadian and foreign, an opportunity to present here in Montreal in 1967 a synthesis by man of himself and his ways of life, of what he has accomplished, what he is doing, and of his hopes for the future. This is a unique opportunity, one that I know is inspiring the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition to devise imaginative and effective means of depicting the theme, and one that I am sure will be welcomed by an unprecedentedly large number of exhibitors.

We can expect that the attention of the world will be focussed on Canada in 1967, our centennial year, and Expo '67 will be our greatest opportunity to show our country and its people to the world. The Corporation is aware of this fact; the Federal Government and the governments of the provinces are aware of it; and Canadians as a whole are becoming increasingly aware of it.

Bringing the World to Canada

. . . If Expo '67 will thus show Canada to the world, it will also, of course, bring the world to Canada. It is fitting that Canada should invite the world to the celebration of its centennial and, since the Exhibition is so important a part of that celebration, the Government has extended invitations through the Department of External Affairs to 136 countries and territories in all parts of the world to participate in it. The response to this initiative has been gratifying in that to date 24 countries have announced officially their acceptance of our invitations, and many of them are already deep in plans for participation in the Exhibition on an impressive scale. The countries which have announced their intention to participate are: Britain, Belgium, France, Morocco, Austria, the Netherlands, the



The Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, leaves a helicopter after an aerial tour of the site of the Canadian Universal and International Exhibition. Behind him is Mr. R. F. Shaw, Vice-President of the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.



Bird's-eye view of Expo '67 site as of November 1, 1964. Left: MacKay Pier, a natural jetty of land protecting Montreal Harbour from the strong current, extends down the St. Lawrence River. Centre: Historical St. Helen's Island with its newly-created north and south extensions and, bordering the dike of the St. Lawrence Seaway, the man-made Ile Notre-Dame. Dikes linking the two islands to allow for construction work on the Montreal subway will be replaced by a small bridge. Work has already begun on a larger bridge joining MacKay Pier and the extended St. Helen's Island.

Federal Republic of Germany, Venezuela, Israel, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iran, the United States, Malaysia, Ceylon, the Republic of China, Jamaica, Monaco, Norway, Italy, Iceland, Japan, and Czechoslovakia.¹

I said that the response to date has been gratifying, but there are indications that it may soon be described quite rightly as enthusiastic, for there are many other countries that we believe will shortly announce their decisions to participate in the Exhibition. It would not be overly optimistic, I think, to look forward to the representation at the Exhibition of at least 50, and perhaps more, Commonwealth and foreign countries.

... I look forward confidently to an extent of participation by other countries in the Exhibition that will be a true expression of the esteem in which Canada is held throughout the world.

Since this statement was made, Switzerland, Ghana, and Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Niger, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Ireland and Columbia have also announced their intention to participate.

The Establishment of a General International Organization

CANADIAN VIEWS ON THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS, 1945

Editorial Note: The following documents are published as a departure from the usual practice of publishing material dealing primarily with current affairs and follow in this respect the printing in the April 1964 issue of a memorandum by Mr. Loring C. Christie on developments at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. They outline the Canadian Government's views on certain aspects of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for the establishment of a general international organization which were made public by the Governments of Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and China on October 9, 1944. Their publication will be of historical interest to students of Canadian policy at the time when the first proposals for the United Nations Charter were being discussed.

It was the Canadian view that, before the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were formally submitted as a basis for a general conference, efforts should be made to ensure that the "middle powers" would be effectively associated with the enforcement of peace. As the Canadian authorities saw it, difficulties in connection with the position of the more important secondary states centred round: (a) the selection of non-permanent members of the Security Council; and (b) the authority of the Council to call upon member states not represented on it to join in the imposition of sanctions. In telegrams despatched on January 12, 1945, the Canadian Ambassadors in Washington, Moscow and Paris and the Canadian Chargé d'Affaires in Chungking were instructed to present a memorandum of the Canadian Government's views to the foreign ministers of the countries to which they were accredited. The text of the memorandum and an extract from the telegrams are reproduced below.

It might be noted in passing that Articles 23 and 44 of the United Nations Charter contain provisions to meet some of the arguments that were advanced by Canada in this memorandum and later at the San Francisco Conference. The Article 23, Para. 1, of the Charter directs that, in the election of non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard should be "specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the organization." This was the outcome of a Canadian suggestion that, since the principle that power was to be combined with responsibility was reflected in the permanent membership of the great powers on the Council, this should also be taken into account in electing the non-permanent members, so that among the six there should be several states that could make a substantial contribution to the purposes of the organization. Under this functional approach, it was clearly intended that equitable geographical representation was to be a secondary consideration.

Article 44 of the Charter was the result of a Canadian amendment intended to give effect to the axiom "No taxation without representation" in the most important case in which a state's interest could be involved, that is, the contribution of its armed forces to enforcement action. In effect, it provides that, when the Security Council has decided to use force, each state that has been asked to contribute a contingent shall have a voice, and a vote, in decisions concerning the employment of its own military forces.

Memorandum of January 12, 1945, communicated to the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China and the Provisional Government of the French Republic.

The Canadian Government has welcomed the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization published by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China. Certain parts of the proposals, however, create special difficulties for Canada and probably for other states as well. The difficulties relate to the means whereby the co-operation of these states in fulfilling the obligations placed upon the Security Council can best be assured, and the authority of the Security Council thereby increased. Because of the high importance of enlisting the greatest possible measure of support, the Canadian Government believes that the proposals should be expanded or otherwise amended to reduce these difficulties, and is of the opinion that the desired changes can most effectively be introduced before the proposals are formally submitted as the basis for an international conference.

The proposals recognize the primary responsibilities of the great powers for the maintenance of peace by according them permanent membership in the Security Council. It is also generally understood that, when the proposals are completed, the individual concurrence of the great powers will be required in certain important classes of decisions. There is, however, no corresponding recognition in the proposals that the responsibilities which other members of the United Nations are asked to assume differ greatly, despite the fact that their power and their capacity to use it for the maintenance of peace range from almost zero upwards to a point not very far behind the great powers.

Under the proposals, a country which would be called upon to make a substantial contribution to world security has no better assurance of election to the Security Council than the smallest and weakest state. Furthermore, such a country, when not holding an elected seat on the Security Council, would be required to obligate itself to accept and carry out the decisions of the Council — decisions which might entail drastic action on its part under the provisions of Paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of Chapter VIII B. Such action might even be required by the Council without any consultation with the government of the country in question. In contrast, a great power is ensured of participating fully in all the deliberations of the Security Council and is likely also to be assured of exercising a right of individual veto on many of its decisions.

It is open to question whether a country such as Canada could undertake

to accept such an obligation or could, if the obligation were to be initially accepted, ensure effective collaboration in the indefinite future. Canada certainly makes no claim to be regarded as a great power. The Canadian record in two great wars, however, has revealed both readiness to join in concerted action against aggression and the possession of substantial military and industrial capacity. There are a number of other states the potential contribution of which to the maintenance of future security is of the same order of magnitude. The support of these states is important to the maintenance of peace, and the active collaboration of some at least of them would probably be required for the execution of major decisions of the Security Council under Chapter VIII B of the proposals.

5. The question, therefore, arises whether it is possible, within the framework of the general scheme, to devise means of associating more effectively with the work of the Security Council states of the order of international importance of Canada. This might be achieved by making some changes in the powers conferred on the Council, and by ensuring that such states were chosen to fill elected seats on the Council more frequently (or possibly for longer periods) than states with less to contribute to the maintenance of security.

6. It is suggested that decisions of the Security Council under Chapter VIII B should be made binding, in the first instance, only on states which are members of the Council. States not represented on the Council should be required to take positive action only when the decision has been endorsed by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly (when it would become binding on all members), or when the country or countries concerned have by special invitation participated on the same footing as elected members in the Council's proceedings, or when they have individually agreed with the Council to join in a particular task of enforcement. The adoption of these suggestions would make it far easier for states other than the great powers to enter into agreements making available to the organization substantial military forces, facilities and assistance, and would thus increase the effective power at the disposal of the Council. Their adoption would also help to secure the requisite public support in countries not permanently represented on the Council.

7. By the acceptance of these suggestions, a special responsibility would be placed upon all members of the Security Council which would not be imposed on other members of the organization. Thus the changes proposed in the authority of the Council must be considered in conjunction with the suggestion for increasing the effectiveness of the elected section, since they would increase the need for ensuring that the elected section of the Council was made up of states capable of contributing to the discharge of the Council's obligations. A serious effort should, therefore, be made to devise a system of election which would provide that due regard must be paid to the international significance of the countries chosen. If Chapter VI A of the proposals was to be submitted in its present form to a general conference of the United Nations, there would be small chance of securing its amplification in this respect, and it is, therefore, urged that the question should be faced now.

In devising methods of achieving this end, it will be generally agreed that it is important to discourage election to the Council being sought for reasons of prestige, and also to avoid the development of electoral understandings, such as those which controlled the election to the Council of the League of Nations. While it is difficult to put forward a satisfactory formula, it is believed that, given the initiative and support of the great powers, the problem can be solved.

Extract from text of telegrams of January 12, 1945, from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, to the High Commissioner, London, the Ambassadors in Washington, Moscow and Paris and the Chargé d'Affaires, Chungking.

The Canadian Government is deeply convinced of the necessity of establishing an effective general security organization in which it would wish to play its full part. The suggestions in the memorandum are put forward in the belief that their adoption would both strengthen the organization and facilitate completion of a United Nations conference of a Charter based on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The expansion in other respects of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals can, in our view, be considered satisfactorily at the proposed general conference.

Our reasons for feeling that these changes should be made now are indicated in the memorandum. You should point out, in addition, that, in recent large conferences, groups of states have exercised a disproportionate influence on decisions by adopting a common line of action. For example, at the Chicago Aviation Conference the Latin-American states (which would cast nearly half the votes at a conference of the United Nations) were able to secure the election of an agreed slate of countries to the interim aviation body. We feel that similar tactics might be employed at a general international conference to resist amendments designed to protect the position of countries of roughly the order of international importance of Canada.

The memorandum deliberately avoids proposing specific amendments, because there are alternative means of meeting most of the points. With regard to the suggestion in Paragraphs 7 and 8 that some standard of eligibility should be adopted to regulate election to the Council, we realize that there is no single satisfactory method of achieving this. In the proposals, the difficulties of defining what constitutes a great power have been avoided by naming the powers with permanent Council membership. The difficulties of defining a so-called "middle power" are still greater. It might be necessary to fall back on some special method of nomination to restrict the choice of the Assembly. Another possibility would be the introduction of weighted voting at Council elections, each state being entitled to cast a number of votes related to its financial or military contribution. Certain general disqualifications could in any event be included, such as rules debaring states which have not made satisfactory military agreements and states in default on their financial obligations to the organization.

You should specially emphasize the importance which we attach to Para. 6 of the memorandum. The suggestions made therein (or other changes with equivalent effect) seem to us essential if wide membership of the organization is to be attained.

Great Lakes Water Levels

FOR THE PAST three and a half years, precipitation in the Great Lakes basin has been well below normal and has caused water levels in the Great Lakes generally to break record lows set during the last 100 years. This is in marked contrast to the situation in 1952, when lake levels reached an all-time high. The present situation has severely affected interests on both sides of the boundary concerned with the use of Great Lakes water for navigation, power and riparian purposes. The lack of water is an international problem because the boundary between Canada and the United States runs through all the Great Lakes except Michigan, which lies wholly within the United States.

The responsibility for control of water levels rests primarily with the International Joint Commission, a body established under the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 and consisting of Canadian and United States sections, each with three members appointed by their respective governments. Present IJC authority extends only to controlling the outflows of Lakes Superior and Ontario through regulatory works so operated as to counteract current adverse conditions to the greatest extent possible. No control structures exist at the outlets of the other lakes.

Most Recent Investigations

It was realized by both the Canadian and United States Governments that further steps would have to be taken if the extreme variations in Great Lakes levels which occur from time to time are to be reduced. Accordingly, the two governments agreed in the autumn of 1964 to authorize a new investigation through the IJC to determine whether it would be advantageous to institute further regulation in the basin and, if so, to recommend what specific measures might be taken.¹ The Commission was requested to proceed with the reference on October 7, 1964, and has since set up an international board to investigate the problem. At the same time, the Commission is undertaking an investigation of pollution in Lake Erie, Lake Ontario and the international section of the St. Lawrence River, which is to be co-ordinated with the study of lake levels.

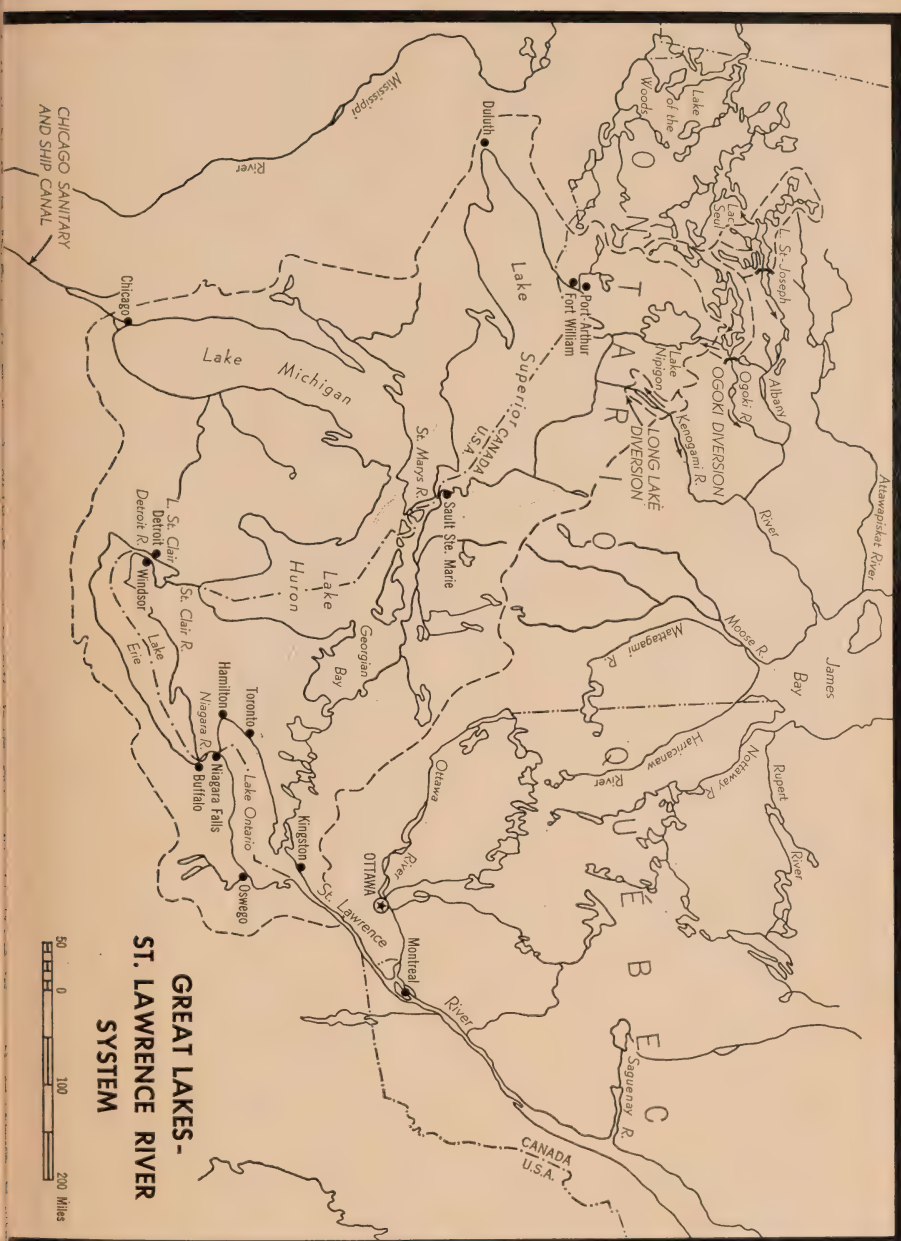
Parallel with the IJC references, the House of Commons requested the Standing Committee on Mines, Forests and Waters on October 2, 1964, to consider and report on the Great Lakes levels question. The Committee has held several sessions and heard representatives from the IJC, the Montreal Port Council, federal departments concerned and private interests, as well as from the Chairman of the United States Great Lakes Commission, an agency representing eight states bordering the Great Lakes that are concerned with water problems in the basin. The Committee has been mainly concerned so far to review the technical infor-

¹The text of this reference is given below.

CHICAGO SANITARY
AND SHIP CANAL

50 0 100 200 Miles

GREAT LAKES- ST. LAWRENCE RIVER SYSTEM



mation available and establish the relations between the various agencies involved. From the long-range point of view, the Committee intends also to consider the possibility of further diversions of water from Canada into the Great Lakes. Understandably, proposals for such diversions have received considerable support in the United States, particularly in Illinois, where the Sanitary District of Chicago wishes to obtain additional water. Chicago diverts 3,200 cubic feet a second from Lake Michigan, thus partially offsetting the 5,000 cfs the Province of Ontario already adds to Lake Superior through the Long Lac-Ogoki diversions. Whether or not an additional 25,000 cfs, as envisaged by some proponents of a new diversion, could be handled by further control structures in the Great Lakes system, particularly in periods of high water, will presumably be one of the questions the House Committee will have to consider. (The present IJC study is concerned only with what benefits might be obtained by further regulation of existing water supply.) In connection with diversion proposals, the Canadian Government has also approached the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec to see if a joint federal-provincial study might be carried out.

Through these measures, the Government hopes to obtain as soon as possible recommendations on which to base action to correct the severe fluctuations to which the Lakes are now subject. Some time will be needed to formulate these recommendations and still more to put them into effect. The complex interrelation of precipitation, evaporation and transpiration, combined with inflow and outflow patterns and the effects of man-made diversions, dredging operations and control works have all to be taken into account. On the research side, much valuable work is being done by both government and private agencies in the United States and in Canada, where the Great Lakes Institute of the University of Toronto is particularly active.

The first step in this vast enterprise appears to be a report from the IJC on what might be accomplished by further controlling the water at present available within the system. If undertaken, the cost of the necessary works might well be as much as one billion dollars. As an attempt to exercise more effective control over the largest inland water system in the world, it would be watched closely by scientists and engineers elsewhere. The immediate task, however, is to collect all the information at hand so that appropriate recommendations may be made.

Reference to the International Joint Commission

In order to determine whether measures within the Great Lakes basin can be taken in the public interest to regulate further the levels of the Great Lakes or any of them and their connecting waters so as to reduce the extremes of stage which have been experienced, and for the beneficial effects in these waters described hereunder, the Governments of Canada and the United States have agreed

to refer the matter to the International Joint Commission for investigation and report pursuant to Article IX of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909.

It is desired that the Commission study the various factors which affect the fluctuations of these water levels and determine whether in its judgement action could be practicable and in the public interest from the points of view of both Governments for the purposes of bringing about a more beneficial range of stage or, and improvement in:

- (a) domestic water supply and sanitation,
- (b) navigation,
- (c) water for power and industry,
- (d) flood control,
- (e) agriculture,
- (f) fish and wildlife,
- (g) recreation, and
- (h) other beneficial public purposes.

In the event that the Commission should find that changes in existing works or that other measures would be practicable and in the public interest in light of the foregoing purposes, it should indicate how the various interests on either side of the boundary would be benefited or adversely affected thereby. The Commission should estimate the cost of such changes in existing works or of such other measures and the cost of any remedial works that might be found to be necessary and make an appraisal of the value to the two countries, jointly and separately, of such measures. For the purpose of assisting the Commission in its investigations and otherwise in the performance of its duties under this Reference the two Governments will upon request make available to the Commission the services of engineers and other specially qualified personnel of their governmental agencies and such information and technical data as may have been acquired or as may be acquired by them during the course of the investigation.

The two Governments have agreed that when the Commission's report is received they will consider whether any examination of further measures which might alleviate the problem should be carried out, including extending the scope of the present Reference.

The Commission is requested to submit its report to the two Governments as soon as may be practicable.

Canadian Consulate General in Bordeaux

On December 14, 1964, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, formally opened the Canadian Consulate General in Bordeaux, France, in the presence of Mr. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, President of the French National Assembly and Mayor of Bordeaux, Mr. Gabriel Delaunay, Prefect of Aquitaine and of the Gironde Department, Mr. Robert Choquette, the new Consul General, and several other French and Canadian personalities.

On this occasion, Mr. Martin held a reception for the leading citizens of Bordeaux, which was followed by an informal luncheon offered by President Chaban-Delmas in the Bordeaux City Hall.

During this reception, Mr. Martin delivered a speech, of which the following are the main passages:

Here we are, French and Canadians, gathered together to open formally the Canadian Consulate General in Bordeaux. This is the first time that a Canadian Government mission in France has been opened outside Paris, where all business has been transacted previously through the one mission maintained there for over 40 years. This opening of a second official post on the territory of the French Republic, which will be followed by the opening of a third post, the Canadian Consulate General in Marseilles, next spring, is in accordance with a programme for the strengthening of the traditional relations between our two countries, which our countries feel should be intensified at this time when both of them are experiencing new progress and wish to share it more closely. This programme for drawing nearer to one another is desired by both our governments and is a result, on Canada's part, of the intentions expressed by General de Gaulle and Prime Minister Pearson when the latter visited Paris in mid-January. . . .

Territory Covered by New Post

This Canadian Consulate General in Bordeaux will exercise jurisdiction over approximately one-third of the territory of France, consisting roughly of the south-western region. The Consulate General in Marseilles will cover Southeastern France, and the Embassy will carry on its consular activities in the northern part of the country. Thus defined, the territorial jurisdiction of the Consulate General in Bordeaux will cover a number of provinces in which many Canadian families originated in the seventeenth century. The Jolicœur, Saint-Onge, Larose, Lachapelle, Girard, Ladouceur, Morisset, Parenteau, Payet, Riopelle and Laplante families, and many others, came to Canada either from Bordeaux itself or from neighbouring places such as St. Etienne or Libourne, from the island of Oléron, from Saintonge and particularly from the Saintes area and La Rochelle. . . .

Pre-eminence among these names is due to that of Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Quebec and the first explorer of the whole of Eastern Canada, who

more than any other person, deserved the title of father of our homeland. Champlain was borne in Saintonge, in the village of Brouage.

It is, therefore, our Consulate in Bordeaux that will be entrusted with safeguarding and honouring the memory of Samuel de Champlain — whenever necessary, with the co-operation of our Embassy. For this important task and any others created by the decentralization of our cultural and administrative activities, we could hardly find a more suitable man than Mr. Robert Choquette, who has in common with Samuel de Champlain that he was born outside Canada but spent there the best part of his life, his energy and his talent as a writer and a poet. As the author of "Suite Marine", Mr. Choquette was well prepared to become the Canadian Consul General in this centuries-old port, where, in remote times, two languages and two cultures existed side by side as they do in Canada to-day.

Bordeaux, on the Gironde River, is something like Montreal and Quebec on the St. Lawrence, where France already maintains Consulates General. Such ports are the occasion and the source of new contacts at every arrival or departure of a



the reception given by Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, on the occasion of the opening of the new Canadian Consulate General at Bordeaux, France (left to right): Mr. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, President of the French National Assembly and Deputy-Mayor of Bordeaux; Mr. Martin; Mr. Robert Choquette, Consul General of Canada in Bordeaux; Mr. Gabriel Delaunay, Prefect of Aquitaine and of the Department of Gironde.

ship. Bordeaux to-day, Marseilles tomorrow. In opening Consulates General, Canada intends to be present here as in Paris, in order to perceive the echo and radiance of France and to bring the youthful echo and radiance of our own country, which Bordeaux greeted so well in 1962 on the occasion of the very successful exhibition of Canadian art.

It was thanks to you, Mr. President, thanks to the co-operation received from your services, in a word, it was under your care, that this exhibition met with so great a success. What could augur better for our Consulate than your presence here to-day? It is, in a way, under your care that Mr. Robert Choquette and his wife will be working. With confidence in your assistance and in the good relations that exist between our two countries, I believe that we can all rejoice in anticipation at the writing of this Bordeaux chapter of our history, and, perhaps, of yours too.

Canada and the International Situation

EXTRACTS FROM AN INTERVIEW GIVEN BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN, TO
M. JEAN-PIERRE TAINURIER OF LE DEVOIR, MONTREAL,
ON DECEMBER 23, 1964.

Question (1):

What are the principles which govern Canadian diplomacy?

Answer:

Canada is a middle power endowed with an active diplomacy as befits it in an age of interdependence. Is there a contradiction between the emphasis we place on our efforts toward disarmament and our participation in a defence alliance, between our belonging to the American continent and our special ties with Europe, or between our attachment regarding the evolving Commonwealth and our dedicated support to the United Nations on the other hand? I do not think so. If there is a paradox, it is to be found in the age in which we live, which imposes upon us or permits us a balanced diplomacy.

Canada's might menaces no one. Thus, its action on the international stage does not arouse suspicion nor does it provoke fear of domination. But Canada no longer is so small or so weak economically that it is incapable of exercising a real influence in the world. Its high standard of living gives it the means to effect a balanced diplomacy. Our intense commercial activity gives us the chance to open wide many doors on the world. These opportunities provided by our trading spirit cause us to follow a policy of general interest stemming from our own special interests. This is the policy we follow at the United Nations. Canada, being free and capable of assuming international responsibilities, plays a role of first importance in endeavouring to strengthen the authority of this world-wide organization. There are many examples of our initiatives, our role in Cyprus, in Suez, in the Congo — in fact, wherever peace is in danger.

As other factors influencing our external policy, I might mention the close co-ordination that must exist between defence, on the one hand, and our external policy, on the other, according to the principles enumerated in the White Paper on Defence, and, of course, the increasing importance of our programmes of aid to developing countries. Our close ties, or those we are developing, with the United States, the Commonwealth, the community of French-speaking countries, the Latin American countries, occupy, each in its own way, an important place in the evolution of our diplomacy.

Perhaps I should end by reminding you that a democratic diplomacy must be an open one, and I mean by that intelligible to all. But an efficient diplomacy must also be discreet. Canadian diplomacy answers, I think, both needs.

Question (2):

What attitude will be adopted with respect to Communist China during the UN General Assembly?

Answer:

It is difficult to forecast the Canadian position concerning the problem of Communist China at the United Nations since we do not yet know exactly what situation we shall then encounter. As you are probably aware, an item on the representation of China has been proposed by Cambodia and supported by a number of other member states. This item is unlikely to be discussed before February 1965 at the earliest. We do not yet know what sort of resolution the Cambodians will be putting forward. They did, however, co-sponsor a resolution last year that called for the ejection of representatives of the Nationalist Chinese Government and their replacement by representatives of Communist China. Canada has not supported this sort of solution to the China problem in the past, and I have no reason to believe that we shall change our position during the current session.

We do not know yet whether there will be other proposals before the Assembly on this question. If there are, they will probably be concerned with the continuing problem of the status of Formosa and the fact that the General Assembly has no right, by its action on a representation problem, to prejudice the international status of a member already represented in the United Nations. The Canadian Government is anxious to see progress toward a solution of the problem of Chinese representation and the wider question of the entry into the international community of Mainland China. Progress can be hampered, however, by the entrenched positions of the parties chiefly concerned. We must also keep constantly in mind the possible effect of developments in the United Nations on the difficult political and military situation in Southeast Asia. These various factors will be of considerable importance in determining the Canadian position on this subject at the nineteenth session of the Assembly.

Question (3):

What is the attitude of the Canadian Government respecting the deterioration of the situation in South Vietnam, and what is its policy on Southeast Asia?

Answer:

As I have commented on several occasions recently, the situation in Vietnam is a cause for serious concern, not only in terms of the hardship and suffering the people of that unhappy country are being forced to undergo as a result of Communist aggression, but also in terms of the implications of this situation for peace and stability in Southeast Asia. All available evidence points inevitably to the conclusion that the basic reason for this instability, both political and military, is the determination of North Vietnam to interfere in the affairs of South Vietnam by sponsoring the Viet Cong insurgents in their programmes of subversion, terrorism, sabotage and murder, and by directing and supplying the armed rebellion in South Vietnam.

Faced with this hostile policy directed by Hanoi, South Vietnam, in the exercise of the legitimate right of self-defence possessed by every state, has appealed for military assistance from abroad, and this assistance has been granted by a number of countries, of which the United States is, of course, the most important. It has been made clear that this assistance is of a temporary nature, and will end when North Vietnam decides to abandon its aggressive activities.

Canada has not rendered military assistance to South Vietnam; our direct interest in the situation in that country stems from our membership in the International Commission set up by the Geneva Conference in 1954 to supervise the implementation of the cease-fire agreement. Within the Commission, our representatives are directing all their efforts to ensuring that that body carries out its supervisory duties in a manner as close to that intended as possible. To the extent that we are frustrated in this attempt, whether by the two other members of the Commission or by one or other of the contracting parties to the cease-fire agreement, we intend to make it plain where the responsibility lies for such failure as we may be forced to accept.

There has been a good deal of speculation about the desirability of a new international conference to settle the problem of Vietnam. While I believe that such a conference might be necessary at some stage to arrange a more durable settlement, I am not sure what positive results it could pronounce at the moment. It is difficult for me to believe that the Communists would honour their existing international commitments, unless such a new agreement turned the whole country over to Communist control; and this is something, I am sure, the people of Canada, as well as the people of South Vietnam, would not wish to see happen. The *sine qua non* for peace and a durable solution to these problems is abandonment by the Communists of aggression as a means of achieving their ends. In the absence of a decision to this effect by Hanoi, the situation in Vietnam will undoubtedly continue to be potentially dangerous.

Question (4):

The crisis of the Atlantic Alliance was central in recent international conferences. How does Ottawa see this crisis? Is France basically responsible for the present misunderstandings?

Answer:

There is no crisis in NATO. This is not a personal opinion. It is the obvious answer emerging from the meeting of NATO ministers that took place last week in Paris. There is thus no question of analysing the elements of a crisis; we must instead try to understand a complex evolution. I left Paris firmly convinced that none of the NATO members was trying to weaken the Alliance. Despite the diversity of choices and attitudes, NATO will once again find that its problems have a common denominator.

It is certain that in Europe, as in the rest of the world, there have been far-reaching developments that have presented the Alliance with serious problems of adjustment. In Canada, however, we find nothing surprising or necessarily dis-

couraging in this. NATO was established 15 years ago; it is, therefore, natural that we should find ourselves facing problems today that did not exist in 1949.

Canada's goal is to ensure that the Alliance faces these problems frankly and treats them in such a way that a crisis does not occur. We believe that this double objective can be reached, because we have no doubts that the fundamental goals uniting the various members of the Alliance are the same today as yesterday. It is for that reason that we have recommended that the NATO Council take up the nuclear problems of the Alliance. This study has already begun and must continue.

I was asked recently if we would accept the idea that the Alliance should rest on two pillars — one American, the other European. Historically, continental powers have always had the tendency to look on the sea as a dividing element, and maritime powers as a unifying one. Canada, properly speaking, is neither a maritime power nor a continental one; however, we are linked by Franco-British history and this factor places Canada's emphasis on transatlantic relations. If this were not so, Canada would be merely an appendage of the United States.

Apart from the purely Canadian point of view, however, I believe that the idea of two pillars could lead us into trouble. It is very possible that, in the field of economic policy, Europe and North America can, up to a certain point, profitably negotiate certain tariff questions, as is the case in the "Kennedy round". On the other hand, I have often asked myself if this idea of two pillars can be applied to the field of Western defence, and if the idea corresponds to present military realities, even as applied to Europe.

Question (5):

Is the MLF a solution to the defensive problems of NATO? What is Canada's position regarding the handling of nuclear arms within NATO?

Answer:

Canada has not participated in the preliminary technical discussions on the MLF. However, we see no objection to other members of the Alliance having discussions among themselves. As I have previously pointed out, we do not believe that the proposals concerning the creation of a multilateral nuclear force taken by themselves, are capable of solving the whole of this problem. We consider that the arrangements that may eventually be adopted should be discussed among the members of NATO, at the right moment, and that these arrangements should correspond as much as possible to the interests of all the members of the Alliance and take account of the probable repercussions in Europe and the world. We should obviously not approve of any further dissemination of nuclear weapons. Fortunately, there has been no question of that. These considerations are included among those that will guide the Canadian Government in its present study of the suggestions put forward by Britain. The problem of handling nuclear arms within the Alliance is, as you know, complex and very important. Because of this, it must be approached with caution.

Any decision or agreement that could eventually divide the Alliance would

use us concern. It is obvious that such a possibility is less probable if all the members of the Alliance have a chance to put their views forward. In addition, we have suggested that it would be preferable to study the possibility of a greater participation in the military control of the Alliance by further developing procedures already existing within the NATO framework.

Question (6):

What is Canada's conception of a permanent international peace force for the UN?

Answer:

Canada has on many occasions supported the idea of a permanent international peace-keeping force under the United Nations. Canada realizes, however, that the plans for provision of forces to meet the requirements of the UN that were conceived at San Francisco in 1945 have failed to be realized because of disagreement between the great powers. Canada also knows that the plans for such a force envisaged in the last stages of a disarmament agreement are a long way from implementation.

Lacking these alternatives, Canada believes the best way to make progress to obtain agreement by members of the United Nations on *ad hoc* arrangements for peace keeping. Such arrangements might include the formation of national stand-by units for service with the United Nations and the creation of a planning staff of military experts within the United Nations Secretariat. In addition, the Prime Minister has proposed that a number of middle powers work out a standard arrangement to establish an international peace force for use by the United Nations when required. It has not been possible to implement this idea, but Canada did convene a meeting of countries with peace-keeping experience in Ottawa in November to exchange views on the practical military problems involved. We hope this meeting will contribute to the improvement of arrangements for peace keeping in future.

Question (7):

How could we solve the financial problem of the UN in conformity with Article 19 of the Charter?

Answer:

What is involved is the collective responsibility of member states for peace-keeping operations undertaken by the United Nations. A majority of members believe, like Canada, that the costs of peace-keeping operations must be met in accordance with this principle and that the assessments by the Assembly to provide funds for these operations are binding obligations. A few governments, notably the U.S.S.R. and France, do not share this view either of the principle or the law involved.

A confrontation on this issue could only have the gravest consequences for the United Nations, whatever the result of an attempt to apply Article 19. I believe it is essential, therefore, to explore all possibilities of compromise. This calls for willingness to make concessions on the part of all concerned. Time for nego-

tiations has already been gained by the adoption of a consensus procedure in the Assembly, and we are counting on more broadly-based discussions of this problem in the Working Group of Twenty-One, of which Canada is a member.

The Canadian objective in the coming discussions could be described as compromise rather than surrender. It is my hope that a solution can be worked out that does not prejudice the applicability of Article 19, the general idea of the collective responsibility of members for United Nations undertakings or the residual powers of the General Assembly. As I mentioned in my statement to the General Assembly on December 8, the Canadian view is that the principle of shared responsibility should form the basis of any accord we reach, and that responsibility for meeting peace-keeping costs ought to be shared by all members rather than left to a few.

Question (8):

What is Canada's position in the "Kennedy round" of negotiations at Geneva?

Answer:

The Canadian Government has, from the beginning, strongly supported these negotiations under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which promise to be the most far-reaching ever undertaken among the trading countries of the world. Early in 1964, the Government established the Canadian Tariffs and Trade Committee, consisting of senior officials under the chairmanship of Mr. N. A. Robertson, former Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, charged with obtaining the views of Canadian industry and all other interested parties in preparation for the negotiations. During the summer, the Committee received briefs from a great many groups in all parts of the country, many of whom also made oral submissions in Ottawa, which assisted the Committee in making its recommendations to the Government.

Canada has taken an active part in the preparations for the "Kennedy round" which have been under way in Geneva and elsewhere over the past 18 months. Actual negotiations began on November 16 with the tabling in Geneva of lists of goods to be excepted from the general 50 percent tariff cut, or, in the case of countries such as Canada, of "offer lists" of potential tariff reductions. Canada has a strong team of officials in Geneva, led by Mr. Robertson as chief negotiator and including representatives of the various government departments concerned. It is, of course, far too early to attempt to predict the outcome of the negotiations since by their very nature they are bound to be long and arduous. We welcome the opportunity, however, to sit down at the negotiating table with our principal trading partners: the United States, Britain, the European Economic Community, Japan and others, in an endeavour to reduce trade restrictions and secure improved access to foreign markets. The Government is convinced that only through expanded exports can we secure the growth in Canadian manufacturing industry necessary to provide expanded employment opportunities for our growing population. We are not, of course, concerned only with trade in manufactured goods but also with securing better terms of access for foodstuffs and industrial raw

materials through the reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade. Finally, we are anxious that the negotiations should provide increased opportunities to the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to increase their earnings from foreign trade, and thus promote the economic development that is vital to them. We are hopeful that these objectives will be achieved during the coming months.

Question (9):

What has been Ottawa's role in concluding the cultural and technical agreement between Paris and Quebec and in the agreement on the status of the delegation of Quebec in Paris?

Answer:

With regard to the first part of your question, it is a matter that is still being examined, and for some time we have been in close contact with the authorities of the Province of Quebec and with the French Government on this question. We hope to be able to announce soon that it has been brought to a happy conclusion. During my last meeting with Mr. Couve de Murville on December 13, we both expressed the wish to see cultural exchanges between Canada and France intensified. To that end, we have decided to begin negotiations soon on the conclusion of an enabling agreement in this field, and I am convinced that the country as a whole will benefit from it.

Concerning the status of the delegation of Quebec, Mr. Couve de Murville and myself are both pleased that our governments have been able to agree that the delegation in Paris should have privileges and immunities comparable to those which are accorded Canadian provincial representatives in London.

I have made it a point to thank specially the French Government for this decision, which will enable the delegation of the Province of Quebec the better to fulfill its future role.

Question (10):

Is the Cyprus problem close to a settlement? What is the Canadian participation in the peace-keeping operations on the island? What solution does Ottawa advocate?

Answer:

The United Nations peace-keeping operation in Cyprus has brought about a considerable improvement in the situation on the island in recent months. Tension between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities has decreased and there has been some return to more normal conditions.

However, since the Cyprus situation remains potentially explosive, the UN Security Council decided, on December 18, that it had no feasible alternative to the extension of the mandate of the UN Force for another three months. As I announced in the House the same morning, the Canadian Government decided to agree to a request by the UN Secretary-General that it continue its participation in the Force for an additional three-month period. This provides further evidence of Canada's support of UN peace-keeping efforts. We played an active role in

the negotiations which led to the establishment of the Force and have been contributing and financing the largest contingent in it.

Canada now has approximately 1,150 officers and men in Cyprus. The Canadian contingent, which includes the First Battalion of the Canadian Guards and a reconnaissance squadron of the Lord Strathcona Horse, is deployed along the strategic Kyrenia Road and is responsible for operating the convey system on that road. It is also responsible for the Kyrenia Pass and St. Hilarion areas. Until the beginning of December, it was responsible for patrolling the "Green Line" in Nicosia, but has now handed over this responsibility to the Norwegian and Finnish contingents and has assumed instead responsibility for the western sector of the Nicosia Zone. In addition, Canada provides the commander and headquarters staff of the Nicosia Zone and contributes a considerable number of personnel to the UN Force headquarters.

Despite the improvement in the situation which has taken place on the island, no acceptable solution has yet been reached to the differences of opinion on the future of Cyprus that continue to divide Greece and Turkey as well as the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities. These differences between Greece and Turkey, two allies in NATO, are a matter of continuing concern to Canada and to the other members of the NATO Alliance. This problem was reviewed at the recent ministerial meeting in Paris, where I appealed to the sense of responsibility of the two governments and urged that they do all they could to exert a moderating influence on the two communities in Cyprus.

The Canadian Government has followed a policy of avoiding comment on the basic issues in the Cyprus dispute because it is important for us to maintain our present reputation for strict impartiality on this question. Unless we maintain this reputation, it will be difficult for Canada to continue to play a useful role in the UN Force. This does not mean, of course, that the Government is not concerned over the continuation of the dispute and the effect it is having in Cyprus and on the relations between two NATO allies. We believe, however, that the best way to help is to continue to give full support to the UN peace-keeping and mediation efforts in Cyprus.

Question (11):

Can a country's foreign policy affect its domestic problems?

Answer:

The effects that the facts of life in Canada have on our diplomacy and our diplomacy has on our domestic problems are obviously closely linked. A foreign policy that enjoys the support of the large majority of the population, as ours does, is in itself a unifying factor. In the economic field it is a factor that clearly favours our well-being and, in the field of cultural relations, a source of reciprocal enrichment and influence.

I believe, for instance, that Canada's Commonwealth policy, on the one hand and its policy toward French-speaking countries, on the other, which in both cases seek a tightening of existing ties, play an important and positive role in Canada's internal equilibrium.

Question (12):

Does Ottawa think that Canada has a special role to play on the international chess board, as one of the top "secondary powers"?

Answer:

Certainly, and I think that I have already explained how and why. However, there is no particular niche reserved for us in the temple of history. The great powers occupy the front of the stage. The middle and smaller powers, for the most part, want to play a role beyond their frontiers. We have a store of friendships, of affinities, of practicalities, of unselfish acts, all creating what we might call a good name, that we have formed over the years. Our international policy will be effective in the measure that we know how to be witnesses and fair interpreters of international realities transcending our special interests. I think we should pursue our task without impatience but with vigour.

Question (13):

What is the present Canadian policy towards the Organization of American States?

Answer:

The present policy of the Canadian Government remains that which I have described on numerous occasions in the House of Commons. The Canadian Government is very much interested in the activities of the OAS and is already a member of three of its agencies: the Inter-American Radio Office, the Inter-American Statistical Institute and the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History. Canada continues to follow attentively OAS problems by sending observers to some of the meetings of its specialized agencies. Early this month the Canadian Government, indicating thereby its increased interest in the affairs of the hemisphere, signed an agreement with the Inter-American Development Bank whereby Canada agreed to make available \$10 million to finance economic, technical and educational assistance projects.

With regard to the entry of Canada into the OAS, I believe that time must take its course. Canadian public opinion is more and more interested in Latin America. However, it is my belief that one should not place too great importance on the institutional aspect of our relations with the American states when, in addition to the links already mentioned, we maintain diplomatic relations with all countries of the OAS and have the opportunity of a continuing exchange of views on all questions of common interest.

Question (14):

What is the current state of Canadian-United States relations and what was their evolution over the past 12 months?

Answer:

Regarding Canada's relations with other nations, those with the United States are both the most important, and the most difficult, as they cover such a range of subjects and interests. In any issues that may arise between our two countries, the role of the Government, as we see it, is to help create an atmosphere, a frame-

work, in which consultation and co-operation can take place at all levels, governmental and non-governmental, with due respect to each other's rights and interests. Because we have kept this objective constantly in mind, progress has been made on a number of matters which a year or so ago were regarded as very critical. For example, shipping on the Great Lakes, which had been disrupted, began to move freely again. Negotiations concerning the Columbia River Treaty which had been stalled, were resumed, and today work is about to begin on a large scale on projects which will bring to both countries the benefits of vast new supplies of low-cost hydro-electric power — and improved flood control in an area which, as we have seen during the past few days, is sometimes subject to devastating floods. In energy matters generally — electricity, oil, gas and so on — new opportunities for co-operation are continuously being examined. An intensive study is also being made of basic principles which might guide relations between our countries in economic and other areas.

Through the International Joint Commission, Canada and the United States have recently embarked on an investigation of the problem of the levels of the Great Lakes — a matter of vital importance to both countries.

The resolution, shortly after the present Government took office, of controversial issues regarding nuclear weapons has facilitated co-operation on North American defence matters. These matters were reviewed at the meeting of the Canada-United States Ministerial Committee on Joint Defence at Washington in June 1964.

Many consultations have taken place during the past year between the President and the Prime Minister, between Secretary Rusk and myself, and at other levels, regarding various world problems. We have not always agreed but we have tried to understand each other's point of view.

In sum, both countries are showing a capacity for dealing with the problems that confront them in an adult and sensible manner that augurs well for the future.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee: Geneva, in recess, September 17.

Governing Body of ILO and its Committees, 161st session: Geneva, February 15 - March 15, 1965.

United Nations Human Rights Commission: Geneva, March 22 - April 15, 1965.

International Labour Conference, 49th session: Geneva, June 2-24, 1965.

Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH), eighth general assembly: Guatemala, June 25 - July 10, 1965.

NATO Ministerial Meeting: London, May 11-13, 1965.

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. R. Plourde posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Bordeaux, effective December 1964.
- Mr. J. Chapdelaine resigned from the Department of External Affairs (Canadian Embassy, Cairo, United Arab Republic), effective December 19, 1964.
- Miss N. M. Thain resigned from the Department of External Affairs, December 23, 1964.
- Mr. H. L. Weidman posted from the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Paris, to Ottawa, effective January 1965.
- Mr. W. C. Wilkinson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective January 1965.
- Mr. C. O. Spencer posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa. Left Tokyo January 1, 1965.
- Mr. J. R. Morden posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective January 1965.
- Mr. D. N. Cornett posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, to Ottawa, effective January 1965.
- Mr. J. C. Langley posted from the Canadian Delegation to the OECD to Ottawa. Left Paris January 4, 1965.
- Mr. J. G. A. Couvrette posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, effective January 23, 1965.
- Miss E. Jarvis posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, effective January 29, 1965.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Two dollars a year
(students, one dollar) post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII No. 3

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The Face of the World in 1965

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE L. B. PEARSON,
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA, TO THE CANADIAN CLUB OF OTTAWA,
FEBRUARY 10, 1965

HOW DO WE FACE the world in 1965 — and what face does the world show us at the present time?

In the first place, we will not make much of a face at all — before others — if we do not maintain a good face at home, with strength and unity, a sense of purpose and progress. A weak and divided Canada, anxious about its present, and lacking faith in its future, can play no worthy part in international affairs. This is only one additional reason for confounding our domestic defeatists and for reminding ourselves that Canada's destiny is as bright as that of any country in the world. Foreigners know it. So should we, and declare our belief in words and action.

We must face the world, then, with confidence in ourselves. Only then can we continue to make an effective contribution to that search for peace and security which remains the first objective of our foreign policy.

Character of Canada's Contribution

What form should that contribution take? What is the best way for us, at this time, to operate internationally, as a middle power whose policies cannot compel anyone but may influence many, as a middle power with a proud international record, a country which also has special advantages in diplomacy and international relations — advantages which flow out of our continental and Commonwealth positions, out of the reputation we have gained as a people who honourably discharge their international duties in war and in peace? Our opportunities, and our obligations too, are the greater because we have the economic power, the material resources, and the technical skills to make our position one of respectable importance, while we are not big enough to alarm anybody or dominate anybody's way of life. We have American plumbing without American power. This makes us attractive to many, especially new and under-developed states.

If we examine — as we should — how best we may today participate in international affairs (and I can only touch on one or two aspects of such participation), we should not be unduly influenced by the post-war experience we have had, most of which is highly creditable to ourselves but was determined by conditions which have changed and are changing, and in which we worked through international organizations which now have to be adapted to these world changes.

I think of the Commonwealth, of NATO, of the United Nations, and, of course, of this continent, where Canada-U.S. relations, so vitally important to

us, have of themselves built up a series of organizational arrangements, ranging from formal ministerial or official committees to direct personal contacts by meeting and, more frequently, by telephone. I may add that the lines are open, the talk is friendly and the problems are many and difficult.

One factor in our foreign relations is unchanging, however, in a changing world — the importance to us of international trade and investment.

By any standards, Canada is one of the world's greatest trading nations. Our interest in expanding world trade — and we are showing it in a very practical way at Geneva at this moment — is based not only on material self-interest (no country depends more on trade than we do for prosperity) — it is also a measure of our belief in the neighbourhood of all men and all nations.

We should be very foolish indeed if we managed our own financial and economic affairs in a way to prejudice our good relations with our trading friends.

The first of the international groupings through which our foreign policies operate is the Commonwealth of Nations. This now bears about as much relation to the British Commonwealth that existed when I first entered External Affairs in 1928 as the life I led then does to the life I lead now!

The little group of white graduates from colonial status sitting around the fireplace at 10 Downing Street at periodic clubby meetings and listening to the old headmaster discuss the imperial burden and how the youngsters should now appreciate the privilege of sharing it, this has been replaced by 21 prime ministers seated formally around a conference table, all but four (at the most recent meeting) from Asia, Africa, the Mediterranean or the Caribbean. As an old-school-tie bond, terms at Oxford or Cambridge now have to yield precedence to a term in one of Her Majesty's penal institutions for disaffection.

At its last meeting of prime ministers, this new Commonwealth decided to establish a central Secretariat. Such proposals have been made before. They had always been rejected by Canada — particularly by Mr. Mackenzie King — as establishing machinery for imperial centralization which would affect our cherished status. This reason may have been valid 25 years ago. Its unreality now is shown by the fact that the new African Commonwealth nations were the initiators of the Secretariat idea and that no one expects — least of all Downing Street — that a U.K. national will be the first Secretary-General. He is more likely to be a Canadian.

This gives the clue to the new value of an old international institution. The Commonwealth must become a link of goodwill and mutual assistance between nations of every race, colour and continent and in every stage of development; it must utilize the feeling of family which persists to build up a meaningful, non-discriminatory co-operation, based not so much on preferential trade as preferential feeling. If it can do to this, the Commonwealth can enter a period of new and wider usefulness. It is our policy to do everything we can to achieve that result.

Then there is NATO, another international club of which we are a charter and dues-paying member. I believe in the Atlantic coalition as much as I ever

did, but less as a defence coalition and more as a foundation for a closely co-operating political and economic community. Unfortunately, there is little political and economic cement these days for Atlantic unity — while the bond of collective defence for collective security, though still the main force that holds the Alliance together, is becoming weaker as the conditions which brought about NATO in the first place change. Those conditions were primarily the menace of Soviet military aggression and the temptation of European weakness and division.

Now Europe is strong and flourishing. This, plus Eastern Europe's gradual emergence from satellite dependency and other things, has lessened the immediate fear of armed aggression by the Soviet Union.

We must now re-examine the principles on which the Atlantic Alliance was founded 16 years ago. The best result would be to come closer together, organically, on the old Treaty basis. But that is impossible at the moment if we wish to include the France of General de Gaulle. And, certainly, in Canada it is impossible to contemplate an Atlantic coalition without France.

Alternatively, we may have to consider new arrangements by which Europe takes responsibility for the security of one side of the Atlantic, North America for the other, with interlocking co-operative arrangements for mutual assistance against attack.

I do not suggest that such a development in the Atlantic Alliance is going to take place this year or next. Nor do I suggest that anything we do should run counter to the building up of the Atlantic community in every way open to us.

I merely state that the defence arrangements suitable for 1948 may not be appropriate for 1965, or possible, for long, after 1965.

This means that a country like Canada will have to consider very seriously whether the contribution we are presently making overseas to NATO is the best use of our resources for the defence of peace. It is not a matter of defaulting on our obligation to contribute to collective defence. It is merely a matter of how best we can continue to do it as conditions change. It is always easy — and therefore tempting — to follow the beaten path, even when it is not leading us anywhere in particular. But, I should add, before we abandon that path we had better be reasonably certain that the new route is a better way of reaching the goal.

Next, there is the United Nations, full support of which, as I have been saying for 20 years, is a basic foundation of our foreign policy.

I still believe this, but I think the time has come — especially in the light of the current crisis in the Assembly — to have a long, hard look at the organization.

It has changed in 20 years as much as has the Commonwealth. It is no longer dominated by Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere, with a few Communist states raising the devil at every opportunity. The Communists are less obstreperous and the domination through numbers is becoming more and more African and Asian.

We have to re-examine the Charter in the light of this change and of the new world of emerging peoples who do not necessarily believe in either Commu-

nist ideology or in Parliamentary democracy.

For instance, when the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. confront each other in New York (on the problem of no-payment-no-vote), the majority of UN members are now not impressed by either side.

Furthermore, if we solve this particular financial problem without facing up to bigger issues, the solution would not amount to much more than papering over cracks.

What we shall soon have to decide is whether the UN is to become merely a social, humanitarian, and assistance organization, with political and security problems only for debate, not resolution. Or whether, by revising the Charter or by agreement between the more important members, the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations can be made reasonably effective. The time of decision is approaching.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for a limited group of middle powers, of which Canada has been in the forefront, to carry the burden of serving in peace-keeping forces while others of greater resources and power not only refuse to pay their share of the cost but insist that the operation itself is illegal under the Charter.

That is why any small committee set up to find a solution to the current dues-payment crisis should also be asked to look into the whole question of the organization of peace-keeping operations under the Charter.

Canada-U.S. Relations

Then, finally, there are Canada's continental relations with her neighbour who also happens to be the leader of what we, sometimes rather loosely, refer to as "the free world".

Good relations with the United States on the basis of mutual respect, of friendly co-operation rather than friendly domination, must be the very keystone of Canada's foreign policy.

Such a policy does not permit either automatic support or captious criticism. We must protect and advance our own national interests, but we should never forget that the greatest of these is peace and security. The achievement of this aim — it is chastening to realize — does not depend on our policies so much as it does on those of our neighbour. Therefore, the satisfaction we get from national identity and independence must be related to the requirements of interdependence and the recognition of the global responsibilities of the United States in the pursuit of objectives and values that we share.

This will mean in practice that our official doubts about certain U.S. foreign policies often should be expressed in private, through the channels of diplomacy, rather than publicly by speeches to Canadian Clubs. It does not mean that we must always remain silent if there is strong disagreement on matters of great moment or principle. Not at all. Canadians in official positions have more than once spoken very frankly about policies and actions of our neighbour. Washington

ruefully refers to it as arm-twisting from a close friend. But we must never do this merely for the purpose of rousing a chauvinistic cheer at home. Pulling the eagle's tail feathers is an easy, but a dangerous, way to get a certain temporary popularity, as well as a feeling of self-satisfaction at having annoyed the big bird.

It's a form of indulgence that we should keep strictly under control — for national and international reasons.

Vietnam Situation

A very good example of both the strength of the temptation and the necessity for control is to be found in the current situation in Vietnam.

We should be careful before hasty condemnation of U.S. retaliatory or deterrent reactions — a new phrase — against Communist Viet Cong attacks. We should remember that the Geneva arrangements of 1954 partitioned Vietnam and prohibited attacks from one side against the other; but the Northern Communist government, with Chinese backing, have from the beginning violated this agreement by continuous, Chinese-supported guerilla warfare in the South. There has been continuous armed provocation.

The other side of the picture is that there has been almost continuous failure on the South Vietnam side to deal with provocation from the North through their own political and military efforts. South Vietnam has had massive U.S. assistance, but we cannot overlook the fact that U.S. policies in Vietnam seem to have found no solid basis of support through a South Vietnam government of strength and popularity.

It's a confused and dangerous situation. The best solution, of course, would be to end foreign intervention and bring about a unified, independent, neutral Vietnam. But what chance has a unified Vietnam of becoming anything but a Communist Vietnam, not through popular decision but by Chinese imposition?

This is the basic problem that we must set beside the obvious danger that retaliation may escalate into war. So let us not over-simplify the problem, especially to justify easy criticism of U.S. policy.

On Monday of this week, the Government of India, through its Prime Minister, noting that there had been interference in Vietnam from many quarters and that one thing had led to another, appealed for "an immediate suspension of all provocative action in South Vietnam as well as North Vietnam by *all* sides". This is an appeal which I can heartily support, but, I add, only in its entirety.

Indian Proposal

The Indian Government also proposes negotiations through a Geneva-type conference to seek a peaceful and enduring solution. Technically speaking, such a meeting is not necessary, because the conference and agreement of 1954 made adequate provision for the independence of the various countries of former French Indochina. Nevertheless, if, in the circumstances envisaged by the Indian Government, in which neither side would be exerting military pressure on the other, a

conference of the kind indicated took place, the Canadian Government would be glad to take part in it as we did previously.

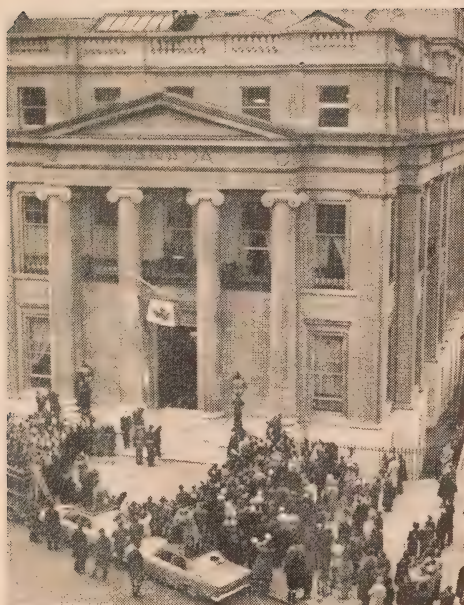
What are the alternatives?

(1) To let things go on as they are, hoping that the Viet Cong will eventually cease their attacks and that U.S. counter-action of the kind recently taken will not again be required. A considerable amount of optimism is required to believe in this course.

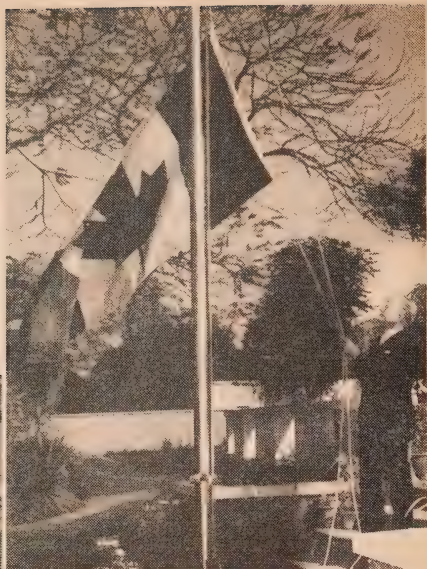
(2) For the United States and the Vietnamese to use massive deterrent or retaliatory force against Communist bases in the North every time there is a Viet Cong attack in the South. The argument for this is that it will force the Chinese-supported Viet Cong to leave South Vietnam alone and hence create a better atmosphere for a negotiation which could lead to foreign withdrawal and non-intervention. Some degree of optimism is also required to reach this conclusion. Another, and less satisfactory, result might be a full-scale Far Eastern Chinese-American war.

So the situation is full of danger and Canada is directly interested in it. We have naturally expressed our concern to our neighbour. But at this time — and following the precepts I have mentioned — that concern is most likely to have maximum influence if it is expressed responsibly through diplomatic channels.

Flag Raising Round the World



London



New Delhi



The United Nations

Principles and Purposes of Foreign Aid

ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN, SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, TO THE MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY AT MACDONALD
COLLEGE, STE. ANNE DE BELLEVUE, QUEBEC, FEBRUARY 9, 1965.

I AM honoured by your invitation to follow a series of such eminent and distinguished speakers in giving this annual memorial address.

Increasingly, over the past several years, it has become clear that the major challenge that is facing our generation is that of economic under-development, which is a condition in which some two-thirds of the inhabitants of this planet find themselves. So long as this condition persists; so long as millions upon millions of human beings continue to be exposed to poverty, hunger and endemic disease; so long as the natural aspirations of newly emergent nations for a better life for their peoples remain circumscribed by a lack of resources and a lack of skills; so long as the world remains so unequally divided into areas of affluence and areas of indigence, there cannot be any expectation of true international peace and stability.

Because the problem of under-development is one which has implications far beyond the areas where under-development is prevalent, the means of meeting and overcoming that problem must be international in scope. Foreign aid is one of the most important avenues of approach to the problem of under-development and it is to the purposes and principles of foreign aid that I should like to address myself this evening.

I think it is fair to say that there has been broad and generous support among all segments of the Canadian people for the principle of foreign aid. Here and there, nevertheless, the query is raised whether charity should not rightly begin at home. It is not an unreasonable query and it is certainly one to which an answer cannot be left in abeyance.

The answer hinges to some extent on the definition which we give to the term charity. I suppose the most common usage we make of the term is in the sense of "helping the helpless". In that definition, however, charity has little in common with the purpose of foreign aid, which is to provide the conditions in which the developing countries are enabled to help themselves. We do not assume that the developing countries are helpless. Nor is that assumption shared by these countries themselves. They recognize that the major responsibility for bringing their economies to the stage of self-sustaining growth must be theirs. All they ask is that the international community co-operate with them in sustaining the efforts they themselves are making and in providing the climate and conditions in which they can mobilize their own resources to the most beneficial effect.

Still, it is arguable that foreign aid does involve the use of national resources — in our case, Canadian resources — and that these resources might be used, as a matter of first priority, to combat poverty at home before they are directed to combat poverty abroad. This is an argument which we cannot dismiss lightly, particularly when we have in mind the findings of some recent surveys into the persistence of poverty in our own country.

Domestic Need and Foreign Aid

How do we reconcile the persistence of poverty in Canada with the provision of foreign aid? There are those who would argue that poverty is a relative concept. They would say that in any community in which there are substantial disparities of living standards those at the bottom of the scale have a claim to be regarded as falling within the poverty range. In one recent survey, for example, destitution — that is to say, the lowest rung of the ladder of poverty — is defined in terms of a *per capita* income of \$1,000 or less. If we were to take this as some sort of absolute standard, we would have to conclude that, in 1960, fifty-four countries with an aggregate population of some 1,548,000,000, or roughly 80 per cent of the total population of the free world, were destitute.

When we come to consider the so-called developing countries, we find that their *per capita* in 1960 averaged \$130. This represented an advance of a mere \$25 over the average *per capita* income recorded in these countries in 1950. Over the same period the advanced countries of the free world, taken collectively, increased their *per capita* income from \$1,080 to \$1,410. What this means is that, over the decade as a whole, the gap in living standards between the advanced countries and the developing countries widened not only in absolute terms — as might be expected — but also in relative terms.

Of course, these are aggregate figures and they do not always tell the whole story. One part of the story which they do not tell is the rising pressure of population and the impact this has had on the whole development process. For it is worth keeping in mind that in many developing countries this pressure of population has been such that the progress made in increasing the volume of output of goods and services is barely enough to yield any improvement in living standards whatsoever.

As I said at the outset, this line of argument is one based on the relativity of poverty. It has an element of validity but it also has serious limitations. Poverty cannot be measured solely in terms of *per capita* income. Such a standard of measurement does not, for example, take account of what constitutes minimum levels of subsistence in different climatic conditions. Above all, it does not attempt to measure the social impact of poverty in a general environment of affluence, which is the situation we confront in Canada and other advanced countries and which is bound to make the eradication of poverty a priority objective of Government policy.

Case for Foreign Aid

I should therefore like to rest the case for foreign aid essentially on the argument which I would put as follows. In the scale of things Canada is an affluent country. While *per capita* income may not be the only reliable indicator of a country's affluence, the fact remains that Canada is the country with the second highest *per capita* income in the world. As such, there can be no doubt that we have the resources both to cope with the problem of poverty in our midst and to play our appropriate part in a co-operative international approach to the problem of mitigating poverty in the developing countries. That argument seems to me an overriding one if we believe that foreign aid is right as a matter of principle. It is to this aspect of the question of foreign aid that I should now like to turn.

The motives behind any foreign aid programme are likely to be mixed. These programmes have evolved pragmatically and the world setting in which they have evolved has itself been changing with unprecedented rapidity. Foreign aid is today part of the established pattern of international relations and it is likely to remain so in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, there is merit, I think, in our stepping back from time to time to review the motives that have actuated our Canadian foreign aid programme and to consider afresh the purposes which we would expect it to serve.

For my own part, I have no hesitation in saying that I regard humanitarian considerations to be foremost in the minds of those who have supported and sustained the principle of Canadian aid to the developing countries. The humanitarian approach to foreign aid is itself compounded of a number of factors which defy separate analysis. In essence, I should say, it rests upon the recognition that, as flagrant disparities in human wealth and human welfare are no longer morally acceptable within a single community, whether it be local or national, the same principle is applicable to the larger world community. And as we have devised various mechanisms for transferring part of the wealth of the community to those segments which cannot rely on the laws of the market alone for their fair share, so foreign aid can be made to serve the same ends in a wider international framework. The validity of this approach to foreign aid was recognized in the Report of the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, of which the present Minister of Finance, the Honourable Walter Gordon, was Chairman. As that report — published some seven years ago — put it,

... in a shrunken world the idea of humanity must have wider practical relevance. It may gradually become as unacceptable to the conscience of the West as it is now to the aspirations of the under-developed countries that there should be such gross disparities in human welfare throughout the world. In a remarkably short time the notion that such disparities cannot be tolerated within a single state has been accepted in almost all Western countries. To apply that principle throughout the world will be a much longer and harder task. But the issue has been raised and can hardly be wished away — even if Canadians were so disposed, which we do not for a moment believe.

I am sure the Commission were right in anticipating that that would not be the reaction of Canadians. In fact, the very contrary has occurred. As Canadians have

expanded the range of their travel, as they have learned more, through their reading and through the public information media, about conditions in the developing countries, they have wanted to go beyond what is being done in this field by the Canadian Government through the use of public funds. And today an increasing number of Canadians, as individuals or through organizations formed for this purpose, are involving themselves in Canada's foreign aid programme. That this expanding degree of participation by Canadians owes its inspiration essentially to human, if not humanitarian, considerations, of that, I think, there can be no doubt.

Pragmatic Reasons for Aid

The fact that foreign aid is morally the right course to follow is not inconsistent with its being justifiable on more pragmatic grounds. I remember Barbara Ward putting the point as follows in her inaugural contribution to the Massey Lectures some years ago:

To me, one of the most vivid proofs that there is a moral governance in the universe is the fact that, when men or governments work intelligently and far-sightedly for the good of others, they achieve their own prosperity too. . . . "Honesty is the best policy" used to be said in Victorian times. I would go further. I would say that generosity is the best policy and that expansion of opportunity sought for the sake of others ends by bringing well-being and expansion to oneself. The dice are not hopelessly loaded against us. Our morals and our interests — seen in true perspective — do not pull apart.

In almost all countries today it is accepted that the maintenance of high levels of production and employment depends on the existence of adequate demand. Indeed, we are spending vast sums of money each year to stimulate demand by means of advertising and in other ways. At the same time, there are millions upon millions of disenfranchised consumers in the developing regions of the world whose potential demand upon our productive facilities remains to be unlocked. Surely, then, it is in our common interest — that is to say, in the common interest of the advanced countries and the developing countries — to enable these countries to make their proper contribution to the world's wealth and to participate more fully in world trade. Admittedly this is a long-range objective of foreign aid but it is one which, I think, we cannot with impunity afford to ignore. It is an objective of particular relevance to a country like Canada which, as one of the major trading countries of the world, has a vested interest in expanding world trade.

Advantages of Canadian Practice

The economic benefits of foreign aid are not, however, limited to the longer term. We in Canada have followed the practice of providing aid largely in the form of Canadian goods and Canadian services. I am aware that this practice — which most other donor countries have also followed — has met with some degree of criticism. So long, however, as we continue to provide the developing countries with goods and services which Canada can supply on an internationally compe-

titive basis, I think a good case can be made for a country like Canada to provide its aid in that way. The advantages, as I see them, are fourfold:

First, the resources allocated to foreign aid serve directly to stimulate the growth of our economy by contributing to the level of production, exports and employment.

Second, the provision of foreign aid enables Canadian producers, engineers and educators to gain valuable experience and Canadian products and skills to become known in new areas.

Third, in the process of providing foreign aid the horizons of Canadians are enlarged and Canada's image abroad is more clearly projected.

Fourth, the use of Canadian goods and services gives Canadians a stake in foreign aid which, I am sure, has helped to enlist and maintain public support in Canada for an expanding foreign aid programme.

Political Significance of Aid

If the ultimate effect of foreign aid is intended to be economic, its political significance can hardly be overstated. For we must remember that foreign aid is being injected into countries and societies which are, without exception, caught up in a tremendous process of transformation. Many of these countries have only recently attained their independence. More often than not, independence has accelerated the pressure for change and has heightened impatience with the pace at which it is proving possible to mobilize the resources and the skills that are required to achieve progress on the social and economic front. This is what is sometimes referred to as "the revolution of rising expectations" and it is being fed by knowledge of the vast potential benefits that science and technology have to offer to twentieth century man. The newly independent countries are determined to break out of the vicious circle of poverty and disease and illiteracy into this modern technological society. They are not prepared indefinitely to tolerate conditions in which the rich are growing richer and the poor are staying poor. They recognize that change cannot come overnight but there are deadlines which the governments of these countries can ignore only at their own peril.

The political implications of all this are clear. In the first place, as I suggested at the outset of my remarks, we cannot reasonably look for any real measure of stability or security in a world, two-thirds of whose inhabitants are living in a state of social ferment and economic discontent. I do not suggest — and I do not believe anyone would suggest — that foreign aid can provide anything like a complete answer to the problems of the developing countries. But, coupled with the efforts of these countries to create a sound basis for development, foreign aid can provide the beginning of an answer. Above all, it provides reassurance to these countries that they will be able to move forward in a co-operative world environment.

Secondly, we must remember that the need to mobilize resources for rapid economic development poses problems of the greatest magnitude in countries

where a majority of the population are living at or near the level of bare subsistence. The basic problem, I think, from our point of view is whether in those conditions the development process is to go forward in a framework of freedom and respect for the uniqueness and diversity of men or whether it is to go forward under the impetus of political coercion and constraint. In referring to this as a basic problem I have in mind a passage in Mr. W. W. Rostow's book on "The Stages of Economic Growth" in which he puts the point as follows:

If we and our children are to live in a setting where something like the democratic creed is the basis of organization for most societies, including our own, the problems of the transition from traditional to modern status in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa . . . must be solved by means which leave open the possibility of . . . a humane, balanced evolution. And he goes on to say that:

It will take an act of creative imagination to understand what is going forward in these decisive parts of the world; and to decide what it is that we can and should do to play a useful part in those distant processes.

These, then, are some of the political implications of foreign aid as I see them. But I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not conceive of foreign aid as a means of imposing our political views and attitudes on the developing countries. That, to my mind, would be a self-defeating objective. It would create suspicion and hostility instead of confidence, which is the only sound basis on which an effective foreign aid programme can be conducted. Not only would a foreign aid programme with political strings be self-defeating but it would be unrealistic. We cannot, with the best will in the world, expect to promote the establishment of parliamentary democracies on the Westminster model all over the world. Many of the new countries bring traditions of their own to the political evolution upon which they are embarking and they will in due course evolve their own patterns of government and social organization. But what we can do — and what I think it is legitimate for us to do — is to enable these countries, at their own option, to develop — to quote Barbara Ward once again — "open societies in an open world".

A Justifiable Condition of Aid

In the light of what I have just said the question may be asked whether there are really no circumstances in which it would be permissible — and perhaps even right — to attach conditions to the provision of foreign aid. It is a question which I do not wish to avoid, although it is a complex one and one which does not lend itself to dogmatic pronouncements. We do have to remember, I think, that the countries with which we are dealing are in many cases young countries, jealous of their independence and sensitive to anything that might be construed as circumscribing that independence. We also have to remember that there is no ready distinction to be drawn between different sets of conditions. Any condition is apt to be interpreted as being political in nature and design. This having been said, I think there is one condition which we have a right to attach to our aid, and that is that it should be put to effective use. We can legitimately argue, I think, that

the resources we allocate to foreign aid are intended to serve one overriding objective, which is to supplement the resources the developing countries themselves can manage to mobilize for their economic development. Where there is no sound indigenous development effort, foreign aid is unlikely to accomplish its objective. And if foreign aid does not accomplish its objective, governments in the donor countries will not be able to maintain public support for their foreign aid programmes. By insisting, therefore, that our foreign aid should be effectively used and that economic development in the countries receiving that aid should have a priority claim on the resources that are being generated, we are surely not surrounding our aid with conditions that are incompatible with their own best interests.

The concept of foreign aid is of relatively recent origin. Modest at its inception, it already encompasses the movement of significant resources from the advanced to the developing countries. Taking the advanced countries of the free world alone, the amounts provided from official sources for this purpose are now well in excess of \$6 billion a year.

Foreign aid is, of course, only one response to the challenge of under-development. It will not by itself close the widening gap in living standards and we should be under no illusion that it will do so. For the resources mobilized through foreign aid represent — and will continue to represent — only a small portion of the resources that will have to be mobilized if the developing countries are to achieve the momentum needed for self-sustaining growth. Meanwhile foreign aid can help, as William Clark recently put it in his preface to a *Handbook on Developing Countries*, “to put a floor under poverty”. That it should succeed in doing so is a matter of enlightened self-interest for all of us.

The claim is sometimes made that man’s scientific progress has out-paced his moral capacity to measure up to his responsibilities in a changing world. There is something to that claim but I would like to think that in this matter of foreign aid we are at least beginning to take the measure of the changing world around us.

United Nations General Assembly

NINETEENTH SESSION — SECOND MONTH

THE ISSUES surrounding the financial crisis of the United Nations continued to plague the nineteenth session after it reconvened on January 18. To avoid a confrontation over Article 19¹, it was agreed that the General Assembly would continue the “no-vote” procedure followed in December and restrict itself to those questions on which unanimity could be achieved. This meant, in effect, that the General Assembly was only able to deal with the elections to the Economic and Social Council and certain subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly, the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), interim financial arrangements and one or two other matters, in addition, of course, to efforts to set up machinery to find some solution to the financial and peace-keeping issues. Consequently, during the month under review the Assembly met on only nine days, and five of these were devoted to the general debate and to tributes to Sir Winston Churchill.

The General Assembly elected Canada, Pakistan, Peru and Roumania to the seats on the Economic and Social Council vacated by Australia, India, Colombia and Yugoslavia and re-elected the United States for a further term. Negotiations are still under way to select a successor for the seat vacated by Senegal. The vacancies on the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ), the Committee on Contributions, the Board of Auditors, the Investments Committee and the United Nations Administrative Tribunal were also filled.

UNRWA Mandate

A draft resolution was adopted, without objection, providing for a one-year extension of the mandate of UNRWA. This agency, the operations of which are financed by voluntary contributions, provides relief, education, training and other services to Arab refugees from Palestine now living in Jordan, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic. A pledging meeting for UNRWA was to be held later in February in conjunction with a similar meeting for the High Commissioner for Refugees.

A draft resolution concerning the establishment, site, construction and initial financing of a new United Nations International School was approved without objection. The school, with facilities for 1,000 children, will be constructed at the north end of the site of the United Nations headquarters. Harrison and Abramovitz, the architects responsible for the designing of the United Nations, have been retained for this project. The Ford Foundation has offered a grant of up to

¹See “External Affairs”, February 1965.

\$7.5 million to build and equip the school provided it receives assurances that the United Nations attaches real importance to such an institution and member states express their support in a tangible way. The resolution requests governments to make voluntary contributions for a development fund to provide \$3 million for the School.

UNCTAD Business

The appointment of Mr. Raul Prebisch as Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was confirmed. UNCTAD was established on December 30 as an organ of the General Assembly, and it is expected that the first session of its Board will take place in April. The Assembly accepted UNCTAD's recommendation that a conference of plenipotentiaries on the adoption of a convention on the transit trade of land-locked countries be held in August 1965.

The General Assembly took note of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the organization and the report of the Security Council, and agreed that United Nations bodies with continuing responsibilities should proceed with their work in 1965. Items on the provisional agenda that had not been dealt with would remain before the General Assembly for possible action either by the current session or by the twentieth session.

Before adjourning, the General Assembly was expected to authorize the Secretary-General to continue the financing of essential United Nations activities, including the financing of priority programmes in the fields of trade and industrial development. Member states would also be requested to make advance payments to the United Nations of not less than 80 per cent of their assessed contributions for 1964. In the course of its consideration of the immediate financial aspects, the Assembly received a statement from the Secretary-General pointing out that, as of January 18, the total net cash resources of the United Nations amounted to \$14.6 million. This was, he stated, little more than the amount required to maintain minimum bank balances throughout the world for the purpose of meeting day-to-day expenditures at present levels. Moreover, though the accounts showed \$136 million as the total amount of contributions outstanding, past experience indicated that only \$6 or \$7 million of this amount would be forthcoming within the following several weeks, while the organization's current payrolls alone amounted to about \$9 million a month. Then, too, the Working Capital Fund, to which recourse could normally be made pending the receipt of assessed contributions, had been virtually depleted and would have to be quickly replenished if normal operations were not to be seriously disrupted. Finally the United Nations owed, mainly to governments, about \$45 million for goods and services previously supplied aside from the unamortized principal of outstanding United Nations bonds amounting to \$154.8 million.

Meanwhile, after lengthy negotiations amongst delegations in consultation with the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly, it was generally

agreed that a committee should be established to undertake as soon as possible "a comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects, including means to ensure the organization's financial solvency". It is expected to have 27 to 29 members and, though its membership has not been determined, it will probably include Canada and most other members of the Working Group of 21, which has hitherto been the body most directly concerned with United Nations financing. Once the final details on the composition of the Committee have been agreed on, it is expected that the nineteenth session will formally adjourn to await its recommendations.

Military Assistance to Tanzania

THE ANNOUNCEMENT by Prime Minister L. B. Pearson on December 8, 1964, that Canada would send a military training and advisory team to the United Republic of Tanzania was a further expression of the Canadian policy of assisting the development efforts of the new members of the Commonwealth in this way. At the time of the announcement there were already a number of Tanzanian officer cadets in Canada receiving training at military establishments. At present, a Canadian defence forces team is providing training to the Ghanaian armed forces. A group of Nigerian army, air force, and naval cadets is being trained in Canada and, though smaller numbers have been involved, military personnel from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Zambia have received similar training in Canada.

In these newly-independent countries of Africa and elsewhere there is an urgent need for economic development and expansion. Internal order and stability, however, are essential requirements if there is to be sustained and lasting growth. In this connection, therefore, the establishment of modest but efficient armed forces is considered to be a necessary pre-condition.

Political Development

With a population of over ten million and an area approximately the same as that of British Columbia, Tanzania is an important East African country. Formerly a German colony, after the First World War it became a British protectorate, and in 1948 a trust territory under British administration. Although it has a multi-racial society, the political development of the country up to independence was smooth and orderly. Under the capable leadership of Dr. Julius Nyerere, Tanzania (then Tanganyika) received its independence in December 1961. Exactly one year later, it became a republic and, in April 1963, united with the recently independent former British dependency of Zanzibar. Since independence, President Nyerere has been attempting vigorously to improve the country's economy and to influence social and educational progress.

For the foregoing reasons, therefore, it was decided, in response to the President's request for military assistance, that a military survey team should be sent to Tanzania to investigate and make recommendations regarding the nature and extent of the aid Canada could provide in this field. The recommendations made by the team were designed to build up in Tanzania, with Canadian advice and training assistance, a small but self-contained army. Training would be conducted at a new training centre that Canada would help to build. The principal forms of aid envisaged are:

- (1) the provision to the Tanzanian Government of military advisers to assist in the planning and organization of the Tanzanian Defence Ministry and the Tanzanian armed forces;

- (2) the training of Tanzanian military personnel in Canada;
- (3) the initial staffing of the proposed Tanzanian military academy or training centre by a Canadian training team;
- (4) Canadian assumption of the foreign-exchange costs of the construction of the military training centre.

Prime Minister's Words

In announcing the adoption of this programme, the Prime Minister said:

It is a source of great personal satisfaction to me that suitable means have been found for Canada to co-operate with the United Republic of Tanzania in the development of the defence and internal security forces of that important member of the Commonwealth. We respect the desire of the Tanzanian Government to follow a policy of non-alignment, and the programme which has been agreed in principle between our two governments is in no way intended to interfere with that policy. However, experience has shown that the assurance of stability is an essential prerequisite for the implementation of effective programmes of economic and social development, and such stability cannot be assured without adequate security forces. That Canada should assist Tanzania in the training and organizations of such forces is entirely appropriate, particularly in view of the contributions we are already making to Tanzania's development programme. We have in the past enjoyed very close relations with the Government of Tanzania under the outstanding leadership of President Nyerere, and I hope that these relations will be further strengthened by our co-operation in this very important field.

At the time of publication, the first elements of the advisory and training team have already arrived in Dar-es-Salaam and have commenced operations. The remaining components of the team are expected to leave for Tanzania shortly.

The Gambia

ON FEBRUARY 18, 1965, ceremonies were held in the capital, Bathurst, to mark the achievement of independence by the Gambia, the last British colony in West Africa. Canada was represented at the ceremonies by Mr. Harrison Cleveland, High Commissioner for Canada in Nigeria, who presented Prime Minister David Jawara with a letter of greetings from Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and informed Mr. Jawara that Canada's independence gift would be two kits of film-projection equipment and some films.

Geography and Climate

This small country, which, except for 30 miles of coastline, is entirely surrounded by Senegal, consists of a flat, narrow strip of land from 17 to 20 miles wide on each side of the last 295 miles of the tortuous river of the same name. The Gambia River is navigable for vessels drawing less than six feet of water from Bathurst to Koina at the eastern end of the country. Vessels drawing not more than 17 feet can sail 150 miles upstream to Kuntaur.

The climate is tropical with the temperature ranging between 60° F and 110° F. From November to May, the country enjoys a dry season of pleasantly low temperatures and humidity. The annual rainfall, most of which comes during the period from June to October, averages about 40 inches on the coast and less as one moves inland.

Population

The population of the Gambia according to the latest census numbers over 315,000. It is entirely African except for a few hundred Europeans, Syrians, and Lebanese, who are either engaged in business or employed by the Government. Bathurst, including its suburbs, has a population of 40,000.

There are five main tribes (the Mandingos, the Fulas, the Wolofs, the Jolas and the Serahulis), each of which has its own peculiar traditions and its own language. The Mandingos, the largest group, are distributed fairly evenly throughout the country, with a large concentration in the Central Division. The Fulas are predominant in the MacCarthy Island and Upper River Divisions and the Wolofs, whose women are famous for their colourful dress, in the Central Division. The Jolas and the Serahulis live mainly in the Western Division. The main religion is Islam, which is a strong force binding together the various peoples. Although Mandingo is the language most generally used, Wolof is widely spoken and English is the language of instruction in most schools.

Economy

As with neighbouring Senegal, the economy of the Gambia is based on the culti-



vation and export of groundnuts. Several years ago, in an effort to diversify the economy, the Colonial Development Corporation undertook a poultry project, which failed.

The main occupation of the people is farming, with emphasis on the cultivation of sorghum, maize and cassava. Rice is an important crop and its cultivation is actively encouraged by the Government. Some tribes, notably the Fulas, engage in cattle-raising on a large scale. In fact, the Gambia has more cattle *per capita* than many other West African countries.

The Gambia's chief industry is related to the processing of groundnuts. No minerals are exploited, and surveys to discover whether there are any workable deposits of oil have proved inconclusive.

The Gambia will continue to receive financial help from Britain after independence. In the immediate future, Britain will provide up to £800,000 *per annum* for development grants, together with grants in aid at the rate of £600,000 *per annum* for 18 months and £360,000 for a further 12 months. In introducing the budget in December 1964, the Gambian Minister of Finance, Mr. Sherrif Sisay, said, however, that, as these sums were insufficient to enable existing expenditure to continue at the same level and accommodate the additional cost of independence, the Government had made or intended to effect a number of economies. This attitude demonstrates that the Government is aware of the problems it faces in leading an independent country.

History

Though the banks of the Gambia River have been inhabited for centuries, little is known about the earliest history of the country because of the lack of archaeological or written evidence. From the fifth century until the first Europeans arrived in the fifteenth, the Gambia was on the edge of the Ghana, Mali, and Songhai empires that succeeded one another in West Africa.

In 1455, sailors in the service of Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal became the first Europeans on the River Gambia. Portuguese efforts to colonialize the area were not successful, and, in 1588, Dom Antonio, claimant to the Portuguese throne, sold to certain English merchants the exclusive right to trade on the Gambia River. Until the early part of the nineteenth century, British authority was confined to the area round Bathurst, at the mouth of the river. Between 1820 and 1857, the British authorities concluded a series of treaties with inland chiefs and a protectorate system of administration was established. By 1902 the present boundaries of the Gambia were established.

Constitutional Development

The constitutional development of the Gambia follows the same pattern of gradual evolution towards responsible government and independence as in other former British dependencies in Africa. In 1915, the first unofficial members were appointed to the Legislative Council, and by 1947 there was a majority of unofficial

members, one of whom was elected in the Council. Four years later the number of elected members was increased to three, all of whom became members of the Executive Council.

Further constitutional revision followed in 1954 and again in 1960, but the Gambians were not satisfied and, in 1962, conferences that led eventually to internal self-government were held in Bathurst and London. One of the points on which agreement was reached was that an election should be held in 1962. Mr David Jawara's Peoples Progressive Party emerged as the winner, defeating the United Party and its allies led by Mr. P. S. N'jie. Full internal self-government was granted to the Gambia in October 1963, the Premier becoming Prime Minister and the Executive Council becoming the Cabinet. One year earlier, the then British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, had told the British House of Commons that Britain was ready to grant independence to the Gambia. In July 1964, the Gambia Independence Conference was held in London. It was agreed that the country's constitution should be based on the existing constitutional arrangements and that the Gambia should become independent on February 18, 1965.

Gambian-Senegalese Relations

Surrounded as it is by a country ten times as large, it is not surprising that consideration has been given over the years to the advantages of the Gambia forming some sort of association with Senegal. Moreover there are close geographical, linguistic, ethnic and religious ties between the two countries. Friendly relations between them have existed for many years and there has been considerable contact through the exchange of ministerial visits. Late in 1963 and early in 1964, at the request of the two countries, the United Nations prepared a report on the problems association between them would pose. It was discussed at ministerial meetings in May and June of last year. The result of the meetings was that the two governments initialled agreements covering foreign affairs and defence. Following the Gambia's independence, these consultations are expected to continue.

Prime Minister Jawara is well aware of the difficulties faced by his small country. In his opening remarks at the Independence Conference, he said that the Gambia's problem was what a former governor had described as an accident of history which created a country too small and ill-endowed with natural resources to develop economically in isolation. The Gambia would explore the possibilities of some form of association with neighbouring Senegal with a view to seeing whether the obstacles to economic development caused by separation could be overcome. He went on to say that such an association would also be in line with the general move in Africa towards African unity which the Government of the Gambia wholeheartedly supported.

Pan-American Institute of Geography and History

CONFERENCE ON SPECIAL MAPS

A TECHNICAL Conference on Special Maps was held in Ottawa from January 18 to 26, 1965, under the auspices of the Canadian National Committee of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH). The meeting was called by Canada to study ways of improving the quality and coverage of special maps in the Americas. Special maps are those having a single theme and displaying a specialized type of data. For example, geological, forestry and land-use maps fit into this category.

The Conference was attended by representatives from 12 countries of North and South America. In addition to 45 Canadian specialists, there were seven representatives present from the United States of America, two each from Argentina, the Dominican Republic and Mexico, and one each from Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The delegates were welcomed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs. In his opening address, Mr. Martin pointed to the necessity of accurate, up-to-date maps for the efficient development of a country's natural resources. He also expressed the view that there would be in the near future an increase in the cultural and technical exchanges with Central and South America.



Delegates to the 1965 Ottawa meeting of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History.

Conference Programme

During the ten days of the meeting, the delegates were given an opportunity of discussing all phases of map production. In addition, technical tours were organized through the various offices and working areas of the map-production plant of the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys. On the week-end that fell during the meeting, a tour of Ottawa and the Gatineau River region was arranged. All the visitors expressed great interest in Ottawa itself, the "green-belt" conception of urban planning, the farming and mining activity in the vicinity of Ottawa and the use of the Gatineau Valley as a resort area.

At the close of the meeting, all delegates expressed much satisfaction with the general conduct of the meeting. In the closing address, General Nano of Argentina stated:

In my position as President of the Commission on Cartography of PAIGH, I must express my satisfaction on the manner in which this Conference was prepared and carried out, assuring us that what we have seen will be of great value and will serve as an example for future Pan-American events in this field.

External Affairs in Parliament

War Crime Trials

To a request on February 23 that, on account of "the growing concern in Canada over the early expiry of the period in which persons can be charged with war offences in West Germany", the House of Commons be informed of "the policy of the Government in the matter and whether the policy . . . has been communicated to the Bonn Government", the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, replied as follows:

. . . The decision in this matter, of course, is one that rests with the Federal Republic of West Germany. However, the Canadian Government has been advised by the Bonn Government that, under present German law, these trials will not cease after May 1965. Persons guilty of war crimes may be prosecuted for years after that date if their names are before the courts by May 8 of this year.

The German authorities have assured us they are satisfied that legal action has already been taken or begun against the vast majority of German war criminals. . . .

Canadian Forces in NATO

Asked on February 24 if the Government was considering "the major redeployment or switch within NATO which is advocated by the British White Paper on Defence with a view to limiting nuclear defences", and if the Government was "planning to withdraw Canadian forces having a nuclear role as part of this process", the Associate Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Léo Cadieux, replied:

I presume this question is based on a report appearing in a morning newspaper concerning the publication of the British White Paper on Defence. We are of course giving consideration to all the important questions facing the NATO Alliance at the present time. These questions include strategy and future force goals which have been and still are being actively considered by members of the Alliance. I think it would be quite misleading, however, to forecast any major redeployment in the near future. What is occurring is a change in emphasis to reflect changes in the balance of power and in the strategic situation which have occurred in the last ten years. The British White Paper seems to reflect this trend, which has already been set out in our own White Paper of last March. . . .

Canadian Forces in Cyprus

In answer to an inquiry on February 25 as to how long Canada would "maintain her contingent in Cyprus at her own expense and pretend to be the richest country in the world" and whether there was "any hope of an early settlement of the Cyprus problem", Mr. Martin said:

. . . Consideration of the renewal of the mandate of the Force will be before the Security Council some time in the middle of March. I do not see any connection between our affluence and the responsibility we have assumed by providing part of the Force. If Canada is paying its own way it is only because there is not enough money in the treasury of the United Nations to make the situation otherwise. I have a strong conviction that most people in Canada believe Canada took the right course in giving that kind of support to the concept of peace keeping under the auspices of the United Nations.

To a supplementary question whether Canada would "carry on indefinitely . . . (in Cyprus) as we are doing with our Force in the Gaza Strip", Mr. Martin replied:

I would hope we would not have to carry on this responsibility indefinitely. I would hope it will be possible for other members of the United Nations to recognize, as Canada does and as do many other countries, that the way to maintain the United Nations is by recognizing the principle of collective responsibility.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee; Geneva, in recess, September 17, 1964.
- Governing Body of ILO and its Committees 161st session: Geneva, February 15-March 15.
- United Nations Human Rights Commission: Geneva, March 22-April 15.
- Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, Conference on Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic: London, March 24.
- United Nations Statistical Commission: New York, April 20-May 10.
- World Health Organization Assembly: Geneva, May 4-21.
- NATO Ministerial Meeting: London, May 11-13.
- International Labour Conference, 49th session: June 2-24.
- Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH), eighth general assembly; Guatemala, June 25-July 10.
- Economic and Social Council, 39th session: Geneva, June 28-July 30.

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS

IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. D. H. Burney posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, effective February 1, 1965.
- Mr. E. W. T. Gill posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, to Ottawa, effective February 3, 1965.
- Mr. R. F. J. Bougie posted from the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective February 10, 1965.
- Mr. R. C. Reeves posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the International Commission for Supervision and Control, Vientiane, effective February 16, 1965.
- Mr. T. J. Arcand posted from the Canadian Embassy, Yaoundé, to the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, effective February 13, 1965.
- Mr. E. A. Skrabec posted from the Canadian Delegation to the International Commission for Supervision and Control, Vientiane, to Ottawa effective February 16, 1965.
- Mr. P. Slyfield posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, effective February 16, 1965.
- Mr. R. H. G. Mitchell posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Yaoundé, effective February 18, 1965.
- Mr. D. W. Munro posted from the Canadian Delegation to the International Commission for Supervision and Control, Vientiane, to Ottawa, effective February 22, 1965.
- Mr. J. H. Vincent posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kingston, to Ottawa, effective February 25, 1965.
- Mr. K. W. MacLellan posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the International Commission for Supervision and Control, Vientiane, effective February 27, 1965.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Finland

Supplementary Convention modifying the Convention between Canada and the Republic of Finland for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income signed at Ottawa on March 28, 1959.

Signed at Helsinki December 30, 1964.

Switzerland

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Confederation of Switzerland to renew the Agreement to provide for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, this renewal deemed to have been effective for a period of five years from July 31, 1963.

Signed at Ottawa November 26, 1964.

Entered into force November 26, 1964.

United States of America

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America extending through the 1964-1965 winter season the provisions of the Agreement of March 6, 1964, for the winter use and maintenance of portions of the Haines Road in British Columbia and Yukon Territory.

Ottawa November 27, 1964.

Entered into force November 27, 1964.

Agreement concerning automotive products between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America.

Signed at Johnson City January 16, 1965.

Entered into force provisionally January 16, 1965.

Multilateral

Procès-verbal extending to December 31, 1966, the validity of the Declaration of November 18, 1960, on the provisional accession of the Government of Argentina to the GATT.

Done at Geneva October 30, 1964.

Signed by Canada on November 25, 1964.

Procès-verbal extending to December 31, 1967, the validity of the Declaration of November 22, 1958, on the provisional accession of the Government of the Swiss Confederation to the GATT.

Done at Geneva October 30, 1964.

Signed by Canada on November 25, 1964.

Procès-verbal extending to December 31, 1965, the validity of the Declaration of November 13, 1962, on the Provisional Accession of the Government of the United Arab Republic to the GATT.

Done at Geneva October 30, 1964.

Signed by Canada on November 25, 1964.

PUBLICATION

Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 19. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning the reimposition of tolls on the Welland Canal. Ottawa December 19 and 20, 1963. Entered into force December 20, 1963.

- Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 21.* Agreements between the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty and the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the status of forces in the Federal Republic of Germany. Done at Bonn August 3, 1959. Entered into force July 1, 1963.
- Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 1.* Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. Done at Moscow August 5, 1963. Signed by Canada August 8, 1963. Entered into force for Canada January 28, 1964.
- Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 3.* Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning winter maintenance of the Haines-Fairbanks Pipeline and for the associated winter use and maintenance of portions of the Haines Road. Ottawa March 6, 1964. Entered into force March 6, 1964.
- Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 5.* Long-Term Wheat Agreement between Canada and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Signed at Ottawa October 29, 1963. Entered into force provisionally October 29, 1963. Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Prague March 25, 1964. Entered into force definitively March 25, 1964.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
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*Subscription rates: Two dollars a year
(students, one dollar) post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII, No. 4

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International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam

SPECIAL MESSAGE OF FEBRUARY 13, 1965

On March 8, 1965, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, tabled in the House of Commons the special message of February 13 from the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam. Mr. Martin explained the reasons for the presentation of a Canadian minority statement (based on a report prepared by the Indian and Canadian members of the Commission's Legal Committee), and went on to comment on the Canadian Government view of the situation and the prospects for a peaceful solution to the problems in Vietnam. The text of his remarks follows:

... I should like to table the text of the special message of February 13 from the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam reporting on the recent air strikes against North Vietnam and on the directly related problem of North Vietnam's long-standing and continuing aggressive interference in South Vietnam, which gave rise to the air strikes in question. This report was released this morning in London by one of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva accord powers, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the United Kingdom.

This message comprises a majority report by India and Poland, which deals only with the air strikes in early February, a minority statement by Canada, which outlines some essential background to these air strikes, and, finally, separate Indian and Polish statements commenting on the position taken by Canada.

Minority Report by Canada

While not denying the facts on which the majority report is based, the Canadian Government believes it presents an oversimplified and misleading impression of the root causes of the dangerous instability in Vietnam. To correct such an impression, the Canadian delegation has appended a statement to the majority report in the hope that the special message as a whole might reflect more accurately the full scope of the problem in Vietnam. As both the Prime Minister and I have made clear on several occasions, the factor which underlies the grave situation in that country is the determined and long-standing attempt of the Hanoi regime to bring South Vietnam under its control through the pursuit of aggressive policies.

This factor has, of course, been evident to the International Commission in Vietnam for some time. The Commission's special report of June 2, 1962, presented a balanced account of the situation by drawing attention to northern violations of the Geneva agreement and also the military assistance the United States was giving South Vietnam at the latter's request to combat Northern interference. . . .

That report's conclusion that North Vietnam had violated the Geneva agreement by aggressive policies toward South Vietnam was based on the work of the Commission's Legal Committee, which had examined a vast amount of material relating to allegations of armed and unarmed intervention in South Vietnam over a number of years. In the special report, the Commission undertook to take action on the basis of a fuller report to be prepared by its Legal Committee. Faced since then with the unwillingness of our Commission colleagues to act on these promises, we have decided that it was necessary to go ahead on our own to fulfil these obligations.

The most significant conclusions of this legal study have, therefore, been quoted in Paragraph 3 of the Canadian statement of February 13. These indicate quite clearly that the so-called South Vietnam Liberation Front, of which the Viet Cong are, in effect, the armed forces, is a creature of the ruling party of North Vietnam, that it is their common aim to bring about the violent overthrow of the South Vietnamese administration, and that the ruling party in North Vietnam has assisted its agents in South Vietnam in attempting to attain this objective. I think I hardly need underline what these conclusions mean for the theory one often hears developed that the war in South Vietnam is essentially an internal revolt.

Defence of Canadian Statement

Both the Indian and Polish representatives on the Commission have questioned the status of the extracts of the Legal Committee's report quoted in the Canadian statement. I cannot agree that a document which has been carefully prepared by a properly constituted committee of the Commission, acting on a majority basis, in pursuance of Commission instructions and on the basis of material referred to it by the Commission, has no status.

The Polish representative has also questioned our right to quote from and append some recent South Vietnamese allegations, which were directed in the normal manner to the Commission for consideration. The allegations concerned do not, of course, pretend to be Commission conclusions. According to these complaints, however, large quantities of arms, munitions and supplies of Communist origin, and large numbers of military personnel, have been steadily infiltrated into South Vietnam from the north by land and sea, and secret bases and related installations have been established by the Viet Cong with the support of North Vietnam. To omit reference to them in current Commission reports would imply that the Commission had not been apprised of them or that it was totally ignoring the major complaints of one of the two parties to the Geneva agreement. The Commission's silence since 1962 on the problem of subversion does not mean there has been any change for the better. On the contrary, judging by the evidence presented to the Commission (and there is a large quantity of material of more recent origin now being reviewed by the Commission's legal experts), it seems obvious that the hostile activities of the Hanoi regime have been steadily increasing.

Our independent observer position in Vietnam has brought us face to face with an insidious form of aggression, with which the free world has yet to devise adequate means of dealing. We have seen a new political entity emerge from colonial status only to be forced into a cruel struggle for survival against hostile pressures beyond its control. In whatever form aggression manifests itself, it must be recognized as such and it must be stopped, not least because we cannot afford to let the practitioners of this technique come to the conclusion that it pays dividends.

This is surely the basic issue at stake in Vietnam today, and it is of vital interest to all members of the international community. This is what we, by virtue of our membership on the International Commission, have established as the lesson of the past ten years. I think it is important for all of us to have this fact clear in our minds before we go on to the next and most vital task, which is to attempt to restore peace to that troubled area. And here I must stress that I do not believe that the answer which all concerned would accept lies either in escalation and all-out war or, on the other hand, surrender to Communist pressures.

Canada's Immediate Objective

We are all deeply concerned with the implications for world peace, no less than for the future of the Vietnamese people, of the continuation of the present situation. It contains the seeds of escalation and the dangers — all too evident to us today — of an open conflict of stark and terrifying proportions. As I have indicated on many occasions, we seek a peaceful and equitable solution, and our efforts are certainly being directed to that end. This is our immediate objective, to avoid the inevitable consequences of escalation. Clearly and firmly, but without panic or alarm, we must make our concern known to all — I repeat all — the direct participants in this conflict, always remembering that conditions on the ground, the actual deployment of power, will have an important influence on the willingness of the parties concerned to modify their policies. Only if all concerned are prepared to face up to their responsibilities and obligations, and only if all concerned are prepared to exercise the restraint for which we and other nations have appealed, can we take the next step toward the peaceful settlement which is our ultimate objective.

Finally, a satisfactory solution would be one which adequately protects and guarantees the independence of people who wish to remain independent. The 1954 Geneva agreements were designed to end war but failed to create a durable settlement and lasting peace. Canada has become acutely aware of the painful shortcomings of the 1954 settlement through more than ten years of experience in Indochina, where we have been forced to observe the slow erosion of the terms of a cease-fire agreement.

Idea of Guaranteed Neutrality

Perhaps a new and better arrangement could be achieved by some form of guar-

anteed neutrality, or through a stronger supervisory and policing mechanism, capable of preventing aggressive interference from outside. As the Prime Minister has pointed out, this is surely an international responsibility. To discharge it, the lessons of the past indicate that there will be required an international presence involving more authority and more freedom of action than have obtained in the past, and this must be balanced by a mutual acceptance of this machinery and a readiness to co-operate in using it. It is clear that to be charged with supervision yet to be powerless to check the slow erosion of a settlement is not enough.

It is not easy, under present circumstances, to define the framework within which new and stronger mechanisms could be brought into being. While the United Nations might be considered as providing an obvious basis on which a new approach might be built up, attitudes thus far have tended to lessen the acceptability of this framework and the chances of its being successfully used. It cannot, however, be entirely excluded as one possibility. Another might well be the sort of grouping of more directly involved nations which were represented at Geneva in 1954 and 1962. At this juncture I do not believe it is as important to determine the eventual framework within which a settlement might be arranged as it is to try to ascertain whether there is any willingness and real basis for new negotiations.

The Canadian Government, for one, intends to continue using all means at its disposal to see if the prerequisites for negotiation exist and, where possible, to help create those conditions. If negotiations can be arranged (let me repeat, it is our hope that conditions conducive to such negotiations will be encouraged by all possible means), our extended experience in the field in Indochina will help us to be of assistance in making concrete and practical proposals as to how the Geneva or any alternative machinery could be developed to achieve a lasting and peaceful settlement.

I may say in conclusion . . . that I have noted the comments made in the majority report by the representatives from India and Poland.

The following are the texts of the majority and minority reports:

Statement of Indian and Polish Delegations

The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam presents its compliments to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and wishes to draw their immediate and earnest attention to the following situation.

(While in full agreement that a report should be made to the Co-Chairmen, the Canadian delegation dissents from the terms of this majority report and has expressed its views in the attached statement.)

On February 7, 1965, a joint communiqué was issued by the Acting Premier of the Republic of Vietnam (R.V.N.), acting under the authority of the National

Security Council, and the Ambassador of the United States, acting under the authority of his Government. This communiqué announced that military action had been taken against military installations in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (D.R.V.N.).

On the same day, the Liaison Mission of the People's Army of Vietnam (P.A.V.N.) transmitted the text of a communiqué which was issued by the Ministry of Defence of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam referring to the bombing and strafing of the D.R.V.N.; subsequently the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued on February 8, 1965, a communiqué on these events, which was communicated by the P.A.V.N. Liaison Mission in their letter to the International Commission. The Liaison Mission of the P.A.V.N. brought to the notice of the International Commission that again on February 8, 1965, bombing and strafing of a number of places had taken place and requested the International Commission "to consider and condemn without delay these violations of utmost gravity and report them to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina".

On February 8, 1965, it was officially announced that further military action on the territory of the D.R.V.N. had been undertaken by R.V.N. and U.S. aircraft.

These documents point to the seriousness of the situation and indicate violations of the Geneva Agreement.

The International Commission is examining and investigating these and connected complaints still being received by it concerning similar serious events and grave developments, and will transmit a report to the Co-Chairmen as soon as possible.

In the meanwhile, this special report is submitted for the earnest and serious attention of the Co-Chairmen in view of the gravity of the situation. The International Commission requests the Co-Chairmen to consider the desirability of issuing an immediate appeal to all concerned with a view to reducing tension and preserving peace in Vietnam and taking whatever measures are necessary in order to stem the deteriorating situation.

The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam takes this opportunity to renew to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina the assurances of its highest consideration.

M. A. RAHMAN,
Representative of India on
the International Commission
for Supervision and Control
in Vietnam.

R. B. STAWICKI,
Acting Representative of the Polish
People's Republic on the International
Commission for Supervision and
Control in Vietnam.

SAIGON,
February 13, 1965.

Statement of Canadian Delegation

The Canadian delegation considers it necessary to append a minority statement to the foregoing majority report.

2. The Canadian delegation agrees that the situation in Vietnam continues to be dangerously unstable, and events since February 7 in North and South Vietnam have provided a dramatic demonstration of this continuing condition. The delegation believes, however, that the causes of this situation must be seen in context and, therefore, reviewed in the framework of the Commission's full range of responsibilities under the Geneva Agreement. By concentrating on a very limited aspect of the situation in Vietnam, the majority report runs the serious risk of giving the members of the Geneva Conference a distorted picture of the nature of the problem in Vietnam and its underlying causes.

3. In reporting on the events in North and South Vietnam since February 7, the Canadian delegation, therefore, deems it necessary to set these events in their proper perspective. In the view of the Canadian delegation, they do not stem from any essentially new factors in the situation in Vietnam, nor can they be seen in isolation; rather, they are dramatic manifestations of a continuing instability, which has as its most important cause the deliberate and persistent pursuit of aggressive, but largely covert, policies by North Vietnam directed against South Vietnam. The Commission's special report of 1962 drew attention to the fact that "armed and unarmed personnel, arms, munitions, and other supplies have been sent from the zone in the North to the zone in the South with the object of supporting, organizing, and carrying out hostile activity" and that "the P.A.V.N. has allowed the zone in the North to be used for inciting, encouraging, and supporting hostile activities in the zone in the South aimed at the overthrow of the administration in the South", thus showing, beyond reasonable doubt, violation of various articles of the Geneva Agreement by the People's Army of North Vietnam. This judgment by the Commission was based on conclusions reached by the Commission's Legal Committee after exhaustive examination of allegations and evidence pertaining to this problem. The final paragraphs of those conclusions read as follows:

"The Legal Committee concludes (reference Paragraphs 742 to 746 and Paragraph 754 in Section VI) that it is the aim of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party (the ruling party in the zone in the North) to bring about the overthrow of the Administration in the South. In September 1960, the Third Congress of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party held in Hanoi (in the zone in the North) passed a resolution calling for the organization of a 'Front' under the leadership of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party for the overthrow of the Administration in the South. Such a 'Front for Liberation of the South' was, in fact, constituted under the sponsorship of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. There are present and functioning in the zone in the South branches of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and the Front

for Liberation of the South along with its armed branches, namely, the 'Forces for Liberation of the South' and the 'People's Self-Defence Armed Forces'. The Vietnam Lao Dong Party and the Front for Liberation of the South have the identical aim of overthrowing the Administration in the South. The Vietnam Lao Dong Party, the Front for Liberation of the South, the Forces for Liberation of the South and the People's Self-Defence Armed Forces have disseminated in the zone in the South propaganda seeking to incite the people to oppose and overthrow the Administration in the South. There exists and functions a 'Voice' of the Front for Liberation of the South and a 'Liberation Press Agency' which assist in the above-mentioned activities. It is probable that Hanoi Radio also has assisted in the said activities. Propaganda literature of the Front for the Liberation of the South and in favour of the activities of the Front has been published in the zone in the North and has been distributed abroad by the official representatives of the D.R.V.N.

"The Legal Committee further concludes that:

- (1) The Vietnam Lao Dong Party in the zone in the North, the various branches of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party in the zone in the South, the Front for Liberation of the South, the Forces for Liberation of the South and the People's Self-Defence Armed Forces have incited various sections of the people residing in the zone in the South, including members of the armed forces of the South, to oppose the Administration in the South to overthrow it by violent means and have indicated to them various means of doing so.
- (2) Those who ignored their exhortation and continued to support the Administration in the South have been threatened with punishment and in certain cases such punishment has been effected by the carrying out of death sentences.
- (3) The aim and function of the Front for Liberation of the South, the Forces for Liberation of the South and the People's Self-Defence Armed Forces are to organize and to carry out, under the leadership of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, hostile activities against the Armed Forces and the Administration of the South by violent means aimed at the overthrow of the Administration of the South.

"The Legal Committee concludes also that the P.A.V.N. has allowed the zone in the North to be used as a base for the organization of hostile activities in the zone in the South, including armed attacks, aimed at the overthrow of the Administration in the South in violation of its obligations under the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam."

4. Since the date of its special report, the Commission has continued to receive from the South Vietnamese Liaison Mission complaints of an increasingly serious nature, alleging an intensification of aggression from the North. In these communications, the Liaison Mission has brought to the Commission's attention mounting evidence to show that the Government of North Vietnam has expanded its aggressive activities directed against the Government of South Vietnam and

has infiltrated growing numbers of armed personnel and increasing amounts of military equipment into South Vietnam for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of South Vietnam by force. The Liaison Mission has informed the Commission that, as a result, the Government of South Vietnam has been obliged to request increased foreign aid for self-defence.

5. In its letter No. 383/PDVN/CT/TD/2 dated January 27, 1965, for example, the Liaison Mission has provided the Commission with details of secret bases and related installations established in South Vietnam with the support of the Government of North Vietnam and other Communist countries. In the same letter, the Liaison Mission has provided the Commission with a recapitulatory list of arms, munitions, and equipment of Communist origin, the seizure of which has been reported to the Commission since the date of the Commission's Special Report of June 2, 1962.

6. In letter No. 539/PDVN/CT/TD/2 dated February 12, 1965, the Liaison Mission has reported to the Commission that, during the period 1959 to 1964, more than 39,000 men have been introduced into South Vietnam from North Vietnam in violation of the Geneva Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam. The Liaison Mission has provided details of the selection, training, infiltration routes, arms and equipment of these men, based on declarations obtained from prisoners of war, defectors and captured documents.

7. The Liaison Mission, in its letter No. 0512/PDVN/CT/TD.2 dated February 9, 1965, concerning events in North and South Vietnam since February 7, has informed the Commission that "the intensification of the aggressive activities of North Vietnam has recently been manifested by large-scale attacks launched against various military installations in South Vietnam, such as those directed against the Bien-Hoa airfield on 1 November 1964, and the military bases of Pleiku and Tuy Hoa on the night between 5 and 6 February 1965". The Liaison Mission goes on to explain that "in order to cope with these acts of marked aggression, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam which, hitherto, has restricted itself to defensive measures, has found itself compelled to take appropriate military actions against the North Vietnamese strategic bases which, as known to everyone, have been utilized actively for the training and infiltration of Viet Cong elements into South Vietnam" and to stress that "the retaliatory operations were limited to the military areas which supplied men and arms for the attacks against South Vietnam".

8. It is the considered view of the Canadian delegation that the events which have taken place in both North and South Vietnam since February 7 are the direct result of the intensification of the aggressive policy of the Government of North Vietnam. In the opinion of the Canadian delegation, therefore, it should be the chief obligation of this Commission to focus all possible attention on the continuing fact that North Vietnam has increased its efforts to incite, encourage, and support hostile activities in South Vietnam, aimed at the overthrow of the

South Vietnamese administration. These activities are in direct and grave violation of the Geneva Agreement and constitute the root cause of general instability in Vietnam, of which events since February 7 should be seen as dangerous manifestations. The cessation of hostile activities by North Vietnam is a prerequisite to the restoration of peace in Vietnam as foreseen by the participants in the Geneva Conference of 1954.

J. BLAIR SEABORN,
Representative of the
Government of Canada on the
International Commission for
Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

February 13, 1965

Canada and the Atlantic Community

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN, SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, TO THE CLEVELAND COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS,
CLEVELAND, OHIO, U.S.A., ON MARCH 4, 1965

IT IS NOW some 16 years since the Atlantic Alliance came into being. It was formed in response to a specific challenge. The nature of that challenge may have altered. Its impact has certainly been blunted. But I do not think there is anyone who would argue that the challenge as such has disappeared. I take it, therefore, as the starting point of my remarks this evening, that the unity and integrity of the Alliance is something in which all of us continue to have a vital stake.

This is not a plea for immobility. Over the past decade and a half, there have been significant changes in the world environment in which the Alliance is operating. There have also been significant changes in the balance of strength within the Alliance itself. It is only natural that, if the Alliance is to continue as a dynamic partnership, the implications of some of these changes should find reflection in its arrangements. It is within those parameters that I see the current debate on the future of the Alliance.

The Canadian attitude to the Alliance has been shaped, as might be expected, by elements in our history and our experience as a nation. Twice in the past half century, Canadians have fought on European soil in the defence of our common freedom. I think it is fair to say that out of that experience Canada's international personality was born and our recognition that we had a continuing part to play in the world beyond our borders. We participated with the United States in the reconstruction of war-torn Europe. And when that continent was once again being threatened — this time by Communist power — we were among the founder members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Atlantic world provides a natural frame of reference for Canada. While much of Canada's national life is influenced by contact and interchange with our powerful neighbour to the south, historic ties take us back across the Atlantic to Britain and France, our two founding nations. In this our historical evolution has been somewhat different from yours. For we have never wished to turn our backs on Europe and the realities of Canadian life have continued to this day to reflect our dual national heritage.

A Bridge, Not a Barrier

These are some of the reasons why Canada has always tended to look upon the Atlantic as a bridge and not as a line of division. That perspective is appropriate

not only to our historical personality as I have tried to suggest. It also enables us to play our part as a responsible middle power with a greater measure of independence than we could reasonably expect to have in a purely continental context.

These may be regarded as peculiarly Canadian reasons for supporting the conception of a transatlantic community. But this is not to say that the conception has any less validity for our Atlantic partners. As regards our collective defence, it is surely self-evident, in this nuclear missile age of ours, that the continental approach provides neither a complete nor an effective answer. And, when we go on to consider that the challenge confronting us is not simply or solely military in nature, then I cannot see that it is sufficient for us to pool our military strength to meet that challenge. That is one reason why Canada has always attached great importance to the non-military aspects of co-operation within the Alliance and why we have looked upon the Atlantic Alliance as an instrument for bringing the Atlantic nations together in a community united as closely as possible in policy and in purpose.

As the Canadian Prime Minister put it when he opened the ministerial meeting of the NATO Council in May 1963:

The Atlantic nations must come together in one Atlantic community. The West cannot afford two such communities, a European one and a North American one, each controlling its own policies and each perhaps moving away from the other as the common menace recedes.

We welcome the resurgence of strength and self-confidence in Europe. That strength and self-confidence have added to the resilience of the Alliance and to our ability, as members of the Atlantic community, to play a constructive part in the world at large — particularly in our relations with the developing world. By the same token, we should regret any reversion to a more restrictively national or continental approach to the tasks we share in common. That would not be in the Canadian interest and we do not think it would be in the wider interest of the Alliance as a whole.

Canadian Policy Since 1949

I should like next to say something about the Canadian position on the various issues that face us in the realm of defence. Canadian policy, as it has evolved since the formation of the Alliance, has been based on three related elements:

First, a contribution of ground, air and naval forces to Western Europe and the North Atlantic;

Second, a contribution to North American air defence through NORAD;

Third, a contribution to international peace keeping through the United Nations.

Within this general framework, we have had to take cognizance of the high cost of maintaining a meaningful Canadian contribution in these areas in circumstances where the pace of technological development carries with it increasing hazards of obsolescence. We have, therefore, embarked on a programme which

is designed to improve the flexibility and mobility of our forces and to lead to the progressive integration of the three armed services. The substance of that programme was set out in our Defence White Paper of 1964. Its object is to ensure the most effective use of our military resources in relation to the three basic elements which I have just mentioned.

As far as the future is concerned, there are a number of uncertainties looming on the horizon which we shall need to take into account and which will have a bearing on the balance we strike, at any given stage, in meeting our responsibilities in the North Atlantic area, in North American continental defence and in peace keeping under the United Nations.

Military Commitment

In Europe, there has been a welcome improvement in the capacity of the Western European members of the Alliance to assume a greater share of the responsibility for the common defence effort. The Alliance is also engaged in a comprehensive defence review. While that review is still in progress, the results could have a bearing on the nature of the role of Canadian forces in the Western European theatre over the longer term. I want to make it quite clear, however, because there has been misinterpretation of the Canadian position in some quarters recently, that, in the absence of durable political settlements, we regard the continued participation of North American land and air power in the defence of Western Europe as both vital and inescapable. That is the position of the Canadian Government, although we cannot, of course, afford to shut our eyes to the implications of other points of view that are being put forward.

In North America Canadian defence, co-operation with the United States goes back nearly a quarter of a century, to the historic Ogdensburg Declaration of 1941. This co-operation was further consolidated in 1958 with the establishment of the North America Air Defence Command. Like yourselves, we are constantly reviewing how we can most effectively contribute to continental defence arrangements, given the declining threat of the manned bomber and the uncertainties surrounding anti-missile defence.

As regards peace keeping, Canada has been a major supporter of that conception as it has evolved in the United Nations over the past two decades. We look upon the evolution of that conception as reflecting the will and determination of the world community to work towards a peaceful and securely ordered world. We think it is both right and useful for the United Nations to be able, with the consent and at the invitation of its member states, to interpose its presence in situations of conflict or potential conflict — to hold the ring, as it were, until longer-term solutions can be worked out at the political level.

Canada and Peace Keeping

Canada has participated in every peace-keeping operation undertaken by the United Nations since 1948. We have set aside standby forces within our military establishment, to be at the disposal of the United Nations at its request in situ-

ations of emergency. We took the initiative last autumn in convening a conference in Ottawa to enable countries with experience in United Nations peace-keeping operations to compare notes, to identify the technical problems that have been encountered, to pool their experience in meeting those problems and to see how, individually, we might improve our response to the United Nations in future situations requiring the services of an international force.

We are confronted at the moment with a situation in which the whole future peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations is at issue. We are giving that problem a very high priority and we shall do what we can to see that it is resolved without detriment to the part the United Nations has played and must continue to play in the maintenance of world peace and security.

I turn next to the nuclear arrangements within the Alliance. The basic problem which is facing us here, as I see it, is how to adjust those arrangements to the changed conditions of today. Put in practical terms, the problem is how we can achieve a greater sharing in the military direction (which is to say, in the nuclear strategy) of the Alliance without further proliferation of control over the use of nuclear weapons.

MLF Proposal

One way of tackling this problem has been the suggested creation of a Multilateral Nuclear Force. While we appreciate the reasons for the MLF proposals, we decided, in the light of our other commitments, not to take part in the discussions on this force. More recently, the British Government has put forward proposals for a somewhat more broadly-based Atlantic Nuclear Force comprising nuclear forces already in being as well as those still in the planning stage. Proposals which have as their basis an inherent Atlantic conception and which relate to forces in being, thereby possibly affecting Canadian forces on both sides of the Atlantic, are naturally of more direct interest to us. We believe that discussions on any new nuclear arrangements should be held in the NATO forum on as broad a basis as possible. We also welcome the indication by the United States of its willingness to consider proposals that meet the legitimate needs of other NATO countries. We, for our part, have suggested that one approach could be to take a fresh look at existing NATO machinery and existing nuclear arrangements, such as those agreed to at the NATO meeting in Ottawa in May of 1963, to identify those areas where progress may be possible towards achieving a broader basis of participation in strategic planning and the nuclear decisions of the Alliance.

Perhaps I can best summarize the Canadian position in this matter as follows:

First, we acknowledge the claims of the European members of NATO to a greater and more equitable degree of participation in the nuclear arrangements of the Alliance.

Second, we regard it as axiomatic that any new arrangements arrived at should add to the strength of the Alliance and not contribute to division within it. In particular, of course, we should be deeply disturbed by any situation in which

there was an irretrievable cleavage between France and her NATO partners, given the very important character of France's contribution to the Alliance.

Third, we think that, if such arrangements are not to prove divisive, they must be open to all members of the Alliance.

Fourth, no final decisions should be taken on these important issues until there has been full consultation in the NATO forum where all points of view can be heard.

I should now like to return to my point of departure, which was that, as long as the threat of aggression in a divided Europe continued, the need for an Alliance such as ours was as compelling as ever. But I also said that this was not a plea for immobility. I believe that the time has come for us to take a fresh look at our partnership and to see whether it reflects the many and fundamental changes that have occurred with the Alliance and in the world around us.

A New World

The world of 1965 is not the world of 1949. There has been the resurgence of political and economic strength in the countries of Western Europe. There have been the beginnings of a broader unity of purpose and endeavour among some of these countries. In the Soviet world, too, there have been changes. It is no longer anything like the monolithic entity it was at one time. There has been an element of reassertion of national identity and national interest in the countries of Eastern Europe. There has also been the growing rift between the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet Union itself is facing many of the problems and responsibilities that go with great-power status and great-power commitments in a changing world. And beyond Europe there is a whole new constellation of nations which have emerged to independence, nations with staggering problems of poverty and under-development, nations with very different priorities and preoccupations from our own, but nations, in the final analysis, to whose stability and success in solving their problems the continued maintenance of world peace and security will not be unrelated.

I am encouraged by the fact that the Alliance is facing up to the need to take a fresh look at itself. That process was formally launched last December, when NATO ministers directed the Permanent Council to study the state of the Alliance and the purposes and objectives commonly accepted by all members. I do not wish to prejudge the results of this important exercise. I should like, however, to put two specifically Canadian glosses on it, one regarding the means and the other regarding the ends of the exercise.

Canadians are pragmatists. We are by nature inclined to build upon what has been found useful in the past. This does not mean that we are not ready to consider new departures. But we should want to be reasonably sure, before we strike out in new directions, that this is the best way to proceed towards the objectives we share in common.

As to the future shape of the Atlantic community, I have tried to suggest that

the challenge that is facing us today is a good deal more subtle and sophisticated than the challenge which faced us when our Alliance was formed 16 years ago. This has an obvious bearing on our response. We must not forget that we have at our command immense resources and immense strength. We also must not forget that, if we are to make the impact which we have it within our power to make, those resources and that strength must be directed to furthering the cause of peace and freedom and well-being in the world. Within those broader objectives, there is surely adequate room for each and every one of us to make our individual and distinctive contribution. But it is important that our purposes and our policies should be in harmony and that we should each be prepared to subordinate some part of our national interest to the general interest of the Alliance as a whole. That, in the Canadian view at least, is the essence of the conception of an Atlantic community.

United Nations General Assembly

NINETEENTH SESSION — THE THIRD MONTH

DURING its last two meetings in February, the nineteenth session of the General Assembly dealt successfully with an attempt to precipitate a confrontation over Article 19 of the Charter¹, agreed on a resolution that authorized the establishment of a peace-keeping committee, and took steps to ensure the continuity and effective functioning of the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations.

On February 16, the Albanian Delegate, Mr. Halim Budo, made a statement that claimed, among other points, that the Western nations, and the United States in particular, were responsible for the "no-vote" procedure and the resulting impasse in which the General Assembly found itself. With the intention of provoking a confrontation, he urged that the Assembly return to its normal procedures and to this end requested priority for and demanded a roll-call vote on a motion calling on the Assembly to approve the complete agenda and proceed to consider the items thereon. He ignored an appeal from the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, to withdraw his motion and, when a motion was put forward to adjourn the meeting to allow delegations to study the situation, pointed out that, under the rules of procedure, his motion had priority over the motion of adjournment. However, the President was able to circumvent this tactic by declaring, under the discretionary powers available to him, an adjournment of two days in order to allow delegations to consider the matter and consult their governments.

No-Vote Decision

On February 18, the General Assembly reconvened and the President made a statement in which he pointed out that the proposal of February 8 to bring about the adjournment of the nineteenth session on a non-voting basis had been accepted by all members, including Albania, without objection to the procedure involved. Hence it was clear that the General Assembly, "by its desire, by its consent and by the procedure it had consistently followed since", had agreed to proceed without a vote and to recess when it had completed its required tasks, and he considered himself bound by this decision. The Albanian Delegate, however, insisted that the consensus procedure had ended with the completion of the general debate and demanded a roll-call vote on the President's ruling. Under the rules of procedure, this challenge to the decision of the chair had to be disposed of, but the threatened confrontation was avoided by Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the United States Delegate, who declared that, since the procedural vote dealt only with the issue of whether or not the General Assembly should continue to proceed on a non-

¹ See the February and March issues of "External Affairs".

voting basis and would not prejudice the question of the application of Article 19, the United States would raise no objection to a vote on the President's ruling. In the subsequent roll-call, the President's decision was upheld by a vote of 97 in favour (including Canada), two against, with 13 abstentions. The Soviet bloc, with the exception of Roumania (which abstained), voted in favour. In the statements by delegations that followed, the Canadian Delegate, Mr. Paul Tremblay, made it clear that Canada did not regard the vote on the President's ruling as a modification of its views on the question of the applicability of Article 19, and expressed support for the consensus procedure and the belief that, considered the serious differences of opinion existing over the financial and peace-keeping questions, members of the United Nations had shown a remarkable sense of responsibility by agreeing to follow such a procedure.

The General Assembly then returned to its agenda, named Gabon to the remaining vacancy on the Economic and Social Council (Guinea had earlier agreed to withdraw its candidacy), requested the Secretary-General to supervise the elections in the Cook Islands in April, and authorized him to continue the financing of essential United Nations activities, including the financing of certain new priority programmes in the sphere of trade and industrial development. Member states were requested to make advance payments to the United Nations of not less than 80 per cent of their assessed contributions for 1964.

Peace-Keeping Issue

The General Assembly accepted a resolution in which the Secretary-General and the President were invited, "as a matter of urgency, to make arrangements for and to undertake appropriate consultations on the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects, including ways of overcoming the present financial difficulties of the organization". The President was also authorized to establish under his own chairmanship a special committee on peace-keeping operations, which, taking account of the consultations, would review the whole question, including ways of overcoming the present financial difficulties, and report to the Assembly on or before June 15. Shortly thereafter, 33 members, including Canada, were chosen on a regional basis to serve on the committee. Finally, before adjourning, the General Assembly took note of a number of reports and decided to deal with its unfinished business either on meeting again to consider the report of the Peace-Keeping Committee or at the twentieth session, scheduled to convene on September 1.

It is regrettable that the nineteenth session failed to solve its financial crisis and to deal with the many important items on its agenda. Nonetheless, its meetings and the decisions that it took provided additional evidence of the value placed on the United Nations by its members and of their determination not to see it permanently damaged. While the consensus procedure severely restricted the General Assembly in its capacity to act, it did avoid the confrontation that all feared and gave its members further time to work out a satisfactory solution to issues basic to the organization's future.

Canadian Technical and Educational Assistance Training Programmes

TECHNICAL and educational assistance formed a small part of Canada's aid activities during the ten years following the introduction of the Colombo Plan in 1951. In fact, less than 3 per cent of official Canadian aid funds for the Colombo Plan were devoted to assistance of this sort. About 1960, however, there was a significant shift of emphasis in the aid programmes of donor countries in general, and of Canada in particular, toward more help with various types of educational projects. This change reflected the increased importance attached by many developing countries, especially in Africa, to the expansion and improvement of their educational facilities. It was a recognition of the vital importance to the economic growth of developing countries of adequate supplies of trained manpower.

The change is partly indicated by the increase in the number of training programmes financed by the Government of Canada for students of the developing countries of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean area. The number of programmes has risen from just over 700 in 1960 to about 1,800 in 1964. As a result of this expansion and of the increase in the size of other programmes of technical and educational assistance, including the provision of teachers, professors, and educational advisers, expenditure in the fiscal year 1963-64 on all technical and educational assistance amounted to about \$8 million.

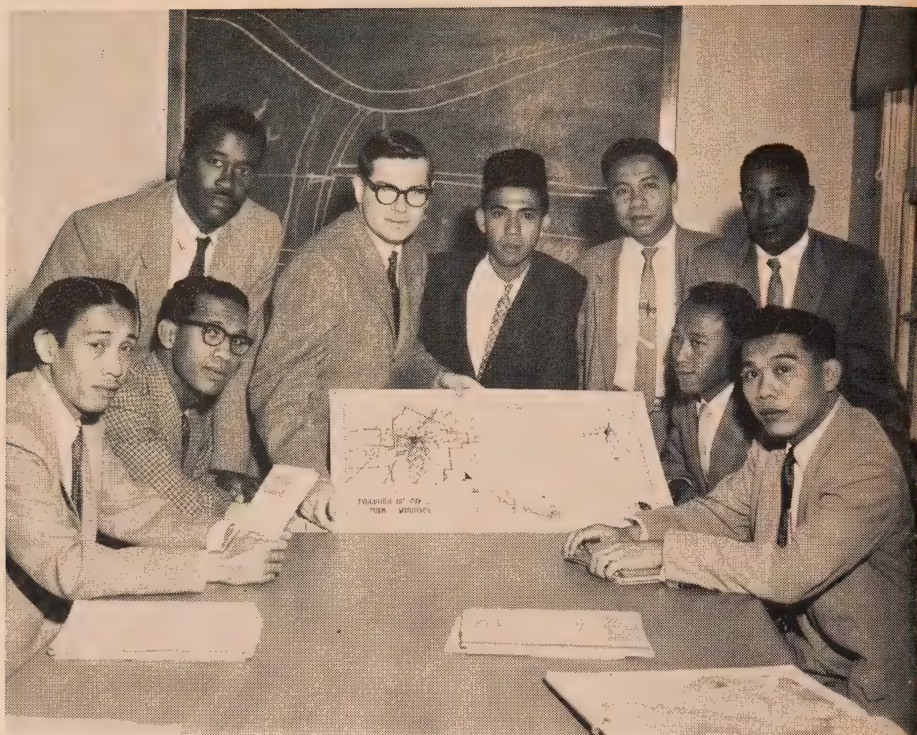
Main Types of Award

There are two kinds of training award available to candidates under the Canadian aid programmes. One is a scholarship for study or training in a recognized educational institution. The second is an award for observation and study or internship in a setting other than academic.

The awards include a monthly stipend to cover the costs of reasonable board, room and incidental living expenses, all tuition and other compulsory university fees, allowances for books, equipment and clothing, and free medical and necessary dental care (provided through hospitals and clinics run by the Department of Veterans' Affairs). Also included are air transportation both ways between a scholar's home country and Canada and allowances for travel within Canada when this is required by the course of studies.

Choosing Candidates

A training award is negotiated bilaterally between the Government of Canada and the nominating government, and is "responsive" in nature, as in all Canada's programmes of technical assistance. It is the responsibility of the overseas government to request a specific form of training in Canada and to choose and nominate



Students attending a course in town planning at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., under the auspices of the economic and technical assistance programme of the Canadian Government, cluster round their instructor, Mr. Gerald Hodge, who is discussing the development of the Prairie city of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Left to right (seated): Alberto Dalingin, the Philippines; Felix Raymond, Trinidad and Tobago; José Olivar, the Philippines; A. Z. Warangara, Indonesia. Left to right (standing): N. Ericson Watty, Dominica; Mr. Hodge; Wan Puteh, Malaysia; R. Soewito, Indonesia; W. Lester Adams, Jamaica.

the candidate or candidates to undertake the training. In choosing candidates for university study in Canada, the nominating authorities are, of course, guided by the admission requirements of Canadian universities. This usually means that a candidate for under-graduate study must have upper-school standing, with good grades in required subjects. A candidate for graduate study at a Canadian university is required to have a first degree in a related field. Candidates for programmes of observation and study or internship in a particular profession or occupation are required to have professional degrees or training and enough experience in their fields of specialization to enable them to benefit from the training their governments have asked Canada to provide.

Academic programmes are available at all levels except elementary and secondary school. Diploma and under-graduate programmes of one to four years, and graduate and post-graduate programmes, are offered in all fields. The External

Aid Office, which is responsible, with the assistance of an advisory committee of prominent faculty members from Canadian universities and officers of various government departments, for the operation of Canada's official aid programmes, screens applications for university training to ensure that candidates possess the required qualifications.

Non-Government Co-operation

In organizing practical training programmes, the External Aid Office requests the co-operation of one or more Canadian organizations concerned with the field of activity in which the candidate is to study. The period of training is arranged to accord with the host organization's convenience, at the same time providing an opportunity for the student to become familiar with its procedures and processes and so to acquire new knowledge and skills. Such practical training and observation may take a maximum of two years or a minimum of about three months; the average duration is about six months. Awards have been made for study in nearly all fields and the training programmes depend for their success on the co-operation and assistance of Canadian commercial establishments, private organizations and associations, and government agencies at all levels. Training has been arranged for people in all walks of life, including deputy ministers of government departments, senior engineers, corporation managers, scientists, junior public administrators and craftsmen.

In 1963, for the first time, since skilled and sub-professional areas of training are an important aspect of manpower, one-year or two-year trade and sub-professional programmes were offered. Sub-professional or technician training programmes in Canada usually last two years at the post-secondary level. Graduates of these courses normally serve as assistants to engineers and other professional personnel. This middle-level manpower training is available in Canadian institutes of technology in engineering, business administration, agriculture and health. As part of these arrangements, an extra year of teacher training has been offered, to follow the normal period of technical training.

Group Training Programmes

Since individual training is difficult to arrange and administer, the results in some instances fall short of expectations. In recognition of this difficulty, the External Aid Office has organized group training programmes whenever it is possible and justified by the volume of requests. At present, four group programmes are available on a continuing basis: Community Development – Coady Institute, St. Francis Xavier University; Co-operatives Development – Coady Institute and Western Co-operative College, Saskatoon; Public Administration – Carleton University; and Labour Leader Training – Labour College of Canada, Montreal. It is intended that other group programmes shall be organized as quickly as circumstances warrant. Of special note is a steel-production training programme, arranged by the External Aid Office and jointly conducted by an Indian steel company and a

Canadian steel producer. Over a three-year period, 200 engineers and technicians are being trained in specialty-steel production techniques in the Canadian plant. In this case, India provides international transportation and Canada provides for the maintenance of the trainees in Canada from Canadian Colombo Plan funds. The training itself is the contribution made by the participating company.

The final aim of training programmes is the development of an indigenous training capability in the developing countries that will help them become self-sufficient. Emphasis has been placed on those types of training most likely to serve this purpose. From the beginning, special attention has been paid to the training of individuals who will serve as instructors in their home countries. More than half the persons trained in Canada have been in this class. Assistance has also been given to educational institutions that meet regional needs. For example, training programmes have been arranged for scholars and trainees who will serve on the staffs of such institutions as the Malaya Technical Teacher Training College and the University of the West Indies, both of which are training students from the general region in which they are located. Furthermore, training pro-



Under the instruction of a National Film Board cameraman, Mr. Bepo of Nigeria, who is studying in Canada under the economic and technical assistance programme of the Canadian Government, prepares for a shot of the cattle-pens at the Terre Noire cattle-feeding station 50 miles northeast of Montreal.

grammes have been combined with other forms of assistance in comprehensive projects that are likely to have the maximum impact on the development of recipient countries. For example, Canada has provided a Trades Training Centre in Ghana with advisers to undertake a feasibility study, as well as with equipment, staff and training programmes for Ghanaians who will eventually do the teaching now being done by Canadians.

High Level of Adaptability

Despite the fact that most of the students have come from tropical and sub-tropical regions, they have adapted remarkably well to life in Canada, which often differs considerably from life in their homelands, and more than 95 per cent have successfully completed their programmes. Of the 5 per cent who have failed, few could be criticized for lack of effort or application. Some have had to return home because of health or family problems, or because their government had to recall them for urgent reasons related to their work. A very few, certainly not more than 2 per cent, have had their awards withdrawn because they have been unable to complete a course of university study at the level they were attempting. Many of the successful students have attained a notable degree of scholarship, winning the highest honours and awards in competition with their fellow students from Canada and other countries. Those participating in training and observation programmes in industry and commerce have impressed their hosts with their zeal and determination as well as with their competence and knowledge. Some have been able to make suggestions that have effected improvements in techniques and methods employed by their Canadian hosts.

Administrative Tasks of EAO

The administrative task that the External Aid Office must undertake to bring these students to Canada is detailed and complex. Months before a student's arrival, arrangements must be made for his admission to university or his attachment to one or several Canadian firms or government agencies, for fulfilling immigration, medical, passport and visa requirements, and for his transportation to Canada. On occasion, the institution at which the candidate will be studying may require evidence that he is capable of understanding instruction in English or French, in which case a test must be administered to him at home and the results transmitted to the host institution. If these arrangements are not completed in time, it may be necessary to delay the student's programme of training, which, in the case of university students, may have to be postponed for a full year.

Once the students have arrived at the Canadian institution where they are to study, they must be provided with the stipends and allowances already mentioned, and they will, of course, need assistance in orienting themselves to Canada and the Canadian way of life. Most students travel to their training centres by way of Ottawa and are briefed at the External Aid Office. They are advised and assisted in the purchase of appropriate clothing and other such matters, and in-

formed of the nature and purpose of their training programmes, the responsibilities of the External Aid Office in relation to the programmes, and their own responsibilities and entitlements during their stay in Canada. These responsibilities include the submission of brief monthly reports and comprehensive final reports on completion of their training. They are counselled respecting the cost of living in Canada and the need for economy in expenditures for living accommodation, meals, clothing and various services. Every attempt is made throughout the initial interview to answer satisfactorily any questions the new arrivals may ask and to assist them in the solution of difficulties that may have arisen during their journey to Canada, such as loss of baggage or tickets and similar matters. The success of a training programme depends in no small measure on ensuring the welfare of the student while he is in Canada. The External Aid Office is assisted in this endeavour by the Canadian Service for Overseas Students and Trainees (*see* SOST). This organization, which is represented across the country, helps the students to adapt to Canadian customs and to deal with the day-to-day problems they may face in an unfamiliar society.

Smoothing the Trainee's Path

Every effort is made to ensure that the student achieves the object of his training in Canada and that he is given full opportunity to complete his programme. Sometimes this requires communicating with his home government to seek its concurrence in the revision or extension of his programme. Occasionally arrangements are made for additional coaching and instruction in English or French or in other subjects in which a student may be deficient.

Finally, a few months before the student is due to return home, he is given information concerning the submission of his final report and the itinerary for his return journey. He is advised that he is entitled to free sea shipment of books and personal effects he has acquired, over and above the free luggage permitted on his air journey. Everything possible is done to make sure that he leaves Canada free of worries and satisfied with his visit.

The External Aid Office has also arranged training for about 1,000 students whose visits to Canada were sponsored by the United Nations Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations, UNESCO, and other Specialized Agencies. In addition, over 900 programmes have been arranged for students sponsored by the United States Agency for International Development (AID), the United States counterpart of the External Aid Office. In these cases, the EAO makes the administrative arrangements for the programmes but the costs are borne by the sponsoring agency.

Commonwealth Scholarships

In addition to the aid programme awards, students are brought to Canada under the auspices of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan. Canada proposed this scheme at the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference held

in Montreal during 1958. The aim of the proposal was to provide greater opportunity for Commonwealth students to pursue advanced studies at the universities of other Commonwealth countries, thereby promoting the equality of educational opportunity at the highest level throughout the Commonwealth. These awards are intended for men and women of high intellectual promise who may be expected to make a significant contribution to their own countries on their return home. The general outlines of the scheme were established at the Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford in 1959, and the first awards were made in 1960. Though this is primarily a programme of scholarly exchange, it is nevertheless of particular benefit to the developing members of the Commonwealth, which gain additional access to the educational facilities of the more-developed members.

The responsibility for the plan in Canada rests with the External Aid Office and the Canadian Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Committee, composed of members from representative universities. The former undertakes the administration of its financial aspects and the Committee advises on and assists with the academic aspects of the plan and, in particular, arranges for the choice and placement of scholars in Canadian universities. The Canadian Universities Foundation provides secretariat services for this Committee.

The goal of this plan was to have 1,000 scholarships current throughout the Commonwealth in any academic year. Of this total, Canada agreed to provide a quarter and, of the scholarships that have been awarded for study in Canada, about 80 per cent have been to students from the developing countries (38 per cent to Asians, 19 per cent to Africans, 13 per cent to Caribbean students and 10 per cent to students from other developing areas). The Plan's operation was reviewed at the Third Commonwealth Education Conference, held in Ottawa during 1964. The delegates to the Conference noted that the goal of 1,000 scholarships was within sight, and that the awards made under this Plan had won an enviable reputation in the academic world in a remarkably short time.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, announced at the Conference that Canada would now introduce senior fellowships as a part of this scheme. It is envisaged that these fellowships will be of two types: research fellowships for university professors, who would normally remain in Canada for a full academic year, and short-term visiting fellowships for senior educationists, who would visit Canada for more limited periods, usually up to four months. Arrangements are now being made to launch this new programme, and it is expected that a number of awards will be made during the current year.

Training in Canada has undoubtedly made a valuable contribution to increasing the supply of skilled manpower in developing countries. Of even greater importance, however, are direct efforts to strengthen local and regional educational institutions. Consequently, Canada has placed high priority on helping construct, equip, and staff universities, technical schools and institutions, teacher-training colleges and secondary schools. While more and more emphasis will be placed on local training, it appears that, in the immediate future, there will be a con-

tinuing need for training in Canada. There may, however, be greater concentration on post-graduate, group and teacher training. Despite changes in the nature of the programmes, their success will continue to depend in large measure on the co-operation of the public and private institutions in Canada that make their facilities available for the training of students from overseas.



VISIT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF UNESCO

Mr. René Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO, was entertained during his visit to Ottawa at a lunch given on March 15, 1965, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin. Left to right: Dr. Henry Hicks, President of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, President of Dalhousie University, and member of the Canada Council; Mr. Maheu; Mr. Martin; Dr. J. F. Leddy, Vice-Chairman of the Canada Council and President of the University of Windsor.

Canadian Military Assistance to Malaysia

IN JULY 1964, the Prime Minister of Malaysia paid an official visit to Ottawa, following a meeting of the Commonwealth prime ministers at which the latter had assured him of "their sympathy and support in his efforts to preserve the sovereign independence and integrity of his country and to promote a peaceful and honourable settlement of current differences between Malaysia and neighbouring countries". At his request, the Canadian Government agreed to consider how best to assist Malaysia in developing its own defensive capabilities without jeopardizing its economic development. On July 29, Prime Minister L. B. Pearson announced in the House of Commons that Canada would send a military survey team to examine and report on Malaysian requirements.

An eight-man Canadian survey team spent three weeks in Malaysia in October and November 1964. The team had a number of discussions with senior government and military authorities there, and held detailed consultations with officials on a wide range of problems, including financial ones. It carried out an extensive tour of military installations in various parts of the country.

Character of Canadian Aid

After careful consideration of the team's report, the Canadian Government concurred in its recommendation that the most valuable contribution Canada could make to Malaysia's security would be in the fields of air transport and training. Bearing in mind the Malaysian requirement for extending and improving internal communications, the Government decided to offer to Malaysia as an outright gift four "Caribou" transport aircraft, with a substantial quantity of spares. In addition, the Government offered to make available a range of military training facilities in Canada for up to 40 Malaysians a year. Canada also offered 250 motorcycles to the Royal Malaysian Police. Implementation of this offer, involving expenditures of up to \$4 million, has already begun and is expected to extend over the next two years. This programme is additional to the programme of economic development assistance to Malaysia which Canada has maintained for some years and which is being increased for the coming year.

In extending this military equipment and training assistance, the Canadian Government wished to assist Malaysia, a fellow member of the Commonwealth, to build up its ability to defend itself. The maintenance of security is an essential foundation for Malaysia's further economic and social progress and for the success of its endeavours to play a constructive and respected role in the international community. The Canadian Government is glad to be able to assist Malaysia in its realization of these goals.

In his message of acceptance to the Canadian Prime Minister, the Malaysian Prime Minister said in part:

On behalf of myself and my colleagues, I should like to offer to you and to your Government our sincere gratitude for the generous and timely aid that you have extended to us. This offer of assistance is a clear evidence of the friendship and sympathy your Government and people have shown to us in our efforts to defend our independence and territorial integrity. We are very grateful for this gesture of goodwill and friendship made in our hour of need.



HIGH COMMISSIONER TO MALTA INSTALLED

The High Commissioner of Canada in Malta, Mr. G. G. Green, signs the visitors' book after presenting his letter of introduction to the Prime Minister of Malta. Standing left to right: Mr. G. Borg Olivier, Prime Minister; M. Cachia Zammit, Maltese Minister of Labour and Social Welfare; Mr. Amato-Gauchi, Maltese Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

THE CONTRACTING PARTIES to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) took formal action on February 8, 1965, to amend the General Agreement by adding a new Part IV on trade and development, to take account of the special needs and trade problems of the less-developed countries. Twenty-eight governments, including Canada, signed the Protocol that will give legal status to these new provisions. In signing on behalf of Canada, Mr. Saul Rae, Canadian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, said:

Ever since its participation in the elaboration of the Bretton Woods agreements which established the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Canada has taken an active interest in the problems and the needs of the developing countries. This has led to our sharing with others in aid and assistance programmes — both bilateral and multilateral — and to our active participation in the attempts which are continuously being made, both in the GATT and in other international organizations, to find adequate solutions to the complex and difficult problems posed by the urgent need for development of such vast areas of the world. It is our hope and our belief that the introduction of a new Part of the GATT will, by providing



Mr. S. F. Rae, Canadian Ambassador to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, signs the Protocol amending the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade by the introduction of a new Part IV, dealing with trade and development.

a more precise treaty framework that has so far been lacking, greatly facilitate our common efforts to accelerate the solution of these problems in the GATT. It is in this spirit that I have been authorized to accept, by signature on behalf of the Government of Canada, the Protocol amending the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to introduce the new Part IV on Trade and Development.

The new Part IV will enter into force *de jure* when it has been accepted by two-thirds of the Contracting Parties. It is expected that other governments will accept the Protocol in the near future. Meanwhile, the Contracting Parties adopted a Declaration on February 8, 1965, providing for the *de facto* implementation of the new provisions until they enter into force *de jure*. The Contracting Parties also established a Committee on Trade and Development, of which Canada is a member, to keep under review the implementation of the new provisions.

The following is a summary of these new provisions, issued by the GATT on February 10, 1965:

Scope of the New Chapter

The new chapter is a result of a decision taken at a ministerial meeting in May 1963, when the ministers recognized that an adequate legal and institutional framework was needed for the efforts made in GATT to facilitate the expansion of the export trade of the less-developed countries. The new chapter gives a contractual and legal basis for commitments on individual and joint action by Contracting Parties aimed at ensuring that less-developed countries can increasingly find from their participation in international trade, and from the sustained growth of their export earnings, the means to raise standards of living and promote more rapid economic development. It may be stressed that what is involved here is not the adoption of recommendations but the acceptance of precisely-defined legal commitments embodied in a formal treaty. It is significant that the chapter is being established concurrently with the most ambitious series of trade negotiations ever undertaken in GATT.

Article XXXVI

The first of the three articles that make up the new chapter spells out the general principles and objectives that will govern the policies of the Contracting Parties in relation to the trade and economic development of the developing countries. The article recognizes that rules governing international trade should be consistent with the need to promote rapid and sustained expansion of the export income of less-developed Contracting Parties. In this context, it stresses the importance both of favourable conditions of access to world markets for the primary products exported by developing countries and the need for ensuring stable, equitable and remunerative prices for such products. The article equally emphasizes the importance of promoting the diversification of the economies of less-developed Contracting Parties through the opening of markets to their exports of processed and manufactured products. The article also lays down the major principle that developed Contracting Parties should not expect reciprocity for commitments made

by them in trade negotiations to reduce or remove tariffs and other barriers to the trade of less-developed Contracting Parties.

Article XXXVII

The second article sets out certain undertakings by the developed and the developing countries in pursuance of the principles and objectives agreed on. Except where compelling reasons make it impossible, developed countries agree not to increase barriers to exports of products of special interest to the less-developed countries and to give high priority to the reduction of existing barriers. The "Kennedy round" will provide an opportunity in the field of tariff barriers to give effect to the latter. High priority is also to be given in any adjustments of fiscal policies to the reduction or elimination of fiscal taxes that hamper consumption of products exported by less-developed countries. A procedure for consultations has been provided to deal with any difficulties that may arise in the implementation of these commitments. This procedure, which is an integral part of the commitments in the new Chapter, is aimed at securing mutually satisfactory solutions for such difficulties on the basis of individual and joint action by Contracting Parties. In addition to reducing trade barriers, the developed Contracting Parties also agree to give consideration to other measures aimed at expanding markets for exports from less-developed countries. For their part, the developing countries agree to implement the provisions of the article for the benefit of their mutual trade, so far as this is consistent with their individual development trade.

Article XXXVIII

The third article provides for appropriate collaboration by Contracting Parties in promoting measures aimed at improving world markets for primary products, in facilitating a clearer understanding of export potential and market prospects for developing countries and in the action required to realize such export potential and prospects, as well as in furthering the expansion of the trade of less-developed countries through the international harmonizing and adjustment of national policies and regulations and the provision of facilities for export promotion. The Contracting Parties will also collaborate with the United Nations institutions and other international agencies active in this field.

Committee on Trade and Development

The Committee on Trade and Development will take over the work done by the GATT Committee III and the Action Committee. It will be concerned both with reviewing practical progress in the removal of barriers and the development of other measures for expanding the export earnings of developing countries.

An important part of the work of the new committee will consist of the examination of proposals for the elaboration of new rules and procedures designed to meet the trading needs and problems of developing countries. Thus the committee will consider and make submissions on proposals relating to the granting

of preferences by industrialized countries to less-developed countries and by less-developed countries to other less-developed countries. It will also undertake a review of certain important articles of the Agreement, namely Article XVIII, which deals with the use of protective measures by less-developed countries to promote their economic development, and Article XXIII, which deals with procedures for settling disputes affecting the rights and obligations of Contracting Parties in the General Agreement.



SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN 1967 WORLD EXHIBITION

This photograph shows his Excellency Ivan F. Shpedko, the Soviet Ambassador to Canada (left), accompanied by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Minister of Trade and Commerce, announcing the Soviet Union's participation in Canada's 1967 World Exhibition. The Soviet Union was the thirty-eighth country to accept officially the invitation to participate in Expo '67.

External Affairs in Parliament

Vietnam

For the situation in Vietnam, see the statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs on Page 114, accompanying the tabling of the recent special report by the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

Situation in Cyprus

Asked on March 15 "whether he has any information with regard to the reported rapid build-up of arms by the Greek Cypriots in recent weeks, and particularly what is the origin of and the route by which these arms are getting there", the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin replied:

. . . The House will have noted the press reports of unnotified shipments of considerable quantities of Soviet heavy military equipment to the Greek Cypriot forces in the last fortnight. This, of course, is contrary to the notification agreement of September 10, 1964, between the Government of Cyprus and the United Nations. I do not wish to add anything more, other than to say that this report is now being examined and, on its face, it clearly represents a violation of that agreement.

To a supplementary inquiry whether there was "any action which the Canadian Government intends to take in regard to this arms build-up", the Minister replied:

. . . The evidence before us is now being examined, and after this examination has been completed we will make the representations which we believe the situation warrants.

To a third question, regarding "the position of the Government" on the extension of "their peace-keeping mandate in Cyprus", Mr. Martin answered:

. . . The Security Council will meet on March 17 to give consideration to a renewal of the mandate. It will have before it the report of the Secretary-General which was given out on Friday, noting the absence of conflict over the last four or five months. The Secretary-General, I understand, has indicated that it is desirable in his judgment that the Force continue to operate on the island, and that there should be no reduction in the numbers, as was rumoured, in spite of the financial situation facing the United Nations. When the report of the Security Council becomes official, the Canadian Government will consider what course it should follow.

On March 22 Mr. Martin replied as follows to another question on the extension of the UN mandate in Cyprus:

The Government has acted on the decision of the Security Council of the United Nations taken at its meeting of last Friday to continue the mandate of the Force in Cyprus. Today the Government will advise the Secretary-General that it has decided to participate in that Force for the three months ending June 26 next.

The same questioner having asked whether there had been "any revision of the status of forces agreement to make absolutely sure that the Peace Force in Cyprus will have the necessary authority to discharge its responsibilities", the Minister replied:

. . . We have made it clear that, in taking the decision which we have taken today, we expect the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ensure that the Force is able to operate with the necessary authority to carry out its mandate effectively. In this connection I asked the Ambassador for Turkey resident in Canada and the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in Ottawa to come in and see me this morning. This and other matters were discussed with them. In addition, I have also received from the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, who is now in New York, assurances in this regard.

Canada and NATO

On March 5, the following question was asked: "In view of the fact that yesterday, in the city of Cleveland, the Minister made a rather extensive statement in regard to Canadian policy as it relates to NATO and its future, and particularly as he referred to the fact that, in his opinion, it was necessary to place national interests secondary to the objectives of that Organization, does the Minister now have some statement for the House in regard to such a policy?"⁽¹⁾ Mr. Martin replied as follows:

. . . The text of what I said last night in Cleveland will reveal that I supported the view that we had to take a look at NATO in the light of the obligations that face us in 1965, and not those which faced us in 1949; and that Canada recognized there was a continuing need for this defensive alliance that has contributed so much to the preservation of at least the relative peace that prevails in the world today. I was simply making an appeal and saying that, in making this alliance work, we had to recognize that we were thereby giving up some of our national control in the common interest of the peace of the world, and that other countries in the alliance should be encouraged to take a similar course.

⁽¹⁾ For the text of the Cleveland statement, see Page 123 of this issue of "External Affairs".

Earthquake in Chile

In reply to an inquiry on March 29 as to whether the Government contemplated "any measure of assistance" to the earthquake-stricken area of Chile, Mr. Martin said:

I am sure I express the view of all parties in the House when I say that we have noted with great sorrow the tremendous damage caused to the people of Chile as the result of the earthquake of yesterday. We have had no news whether any Canadians were affected by the earthquake, but our Embassy in Santiago has been instructed to let us know if any Canadians have been involved. The Prime Minister sent to the President of Chile the following message:

I have been greatly distressed to learn of the loss of life and destruction caused by the recent earthquake in Chile. On behalf of the Canadian Government, I wish to convey to you and to the people of Chile our deep sympathy in the tragedy which you have suffered.

I might add that we are seeking the advice of our Embassy in Santiago with regard to whether and in what way emergency assistance or relief could be given by Canada.

On March 31, to a further inquiry on the same subject, the Minister replied:
... The President of Chile has indicated that it is not the intention of the Government of Chile to make an appeal for outside aid. Nevertheless, the Canadian Red Cross is being alerted to look into the situation.

Military Assistance to Tanzania

In reply to a question on March 22 concerning the nature of the aid offered by Canada to Tanzania in response to a request for help in setting up an air force, Mr. Martin said:

... The Government of Canada decided a few months ago to give some assistance by way of training to units in the military forces of Tanzania. The Government of West Germany has withdrawn some assistance. Our Government has before it further requests for additional Canadian help. This matter is now under consideration.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- United Nations Human Rights Commission: Geneva, March 22 - April 15
- Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, Conference on Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic: London, March 24
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board: New York, April 5-23
- United Nations Statistical Commission: New York, April 20 - May 10
- Commonwealth Telecommunications Conference: London, April 26 - May 13
- World Health Organization Assembly: Geneva, May 4-21
- NATO Ministerial Meeting: London, May 11-13
- International Labour Conference 49th Session: Geneva, June 2-24
- OECD Ministers of Agriculture: Paris, June 9-11
- 15th Session of the International Civil Aviation Organization Assembly: Montreal, June 22 - July 19
- Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference: London, June 17-25
- Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH), 8th General Assembly: Guatemala, June 25 - July 10
- Economic and Social Council, 39th Session: Geneva, June 28 - July 30
- 3rd UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders: Stockholm, August 9-18
- World Population Conference: Belgrade, August 30 - September 10
-

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. R. G. Seaborn posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi to Ottawa, effective February 3, 1965.
- Mr. K. L. Burke appointed to the Department of External Affairs as EAO 2 effective February 8, 1965.
- Mrs. V. Brosnan (Allen) resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective February 11, 1965.
- Miss S. G. Dahl appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer effective February 15, 1965.
- Mr. C. E. Campbell posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Hamburg, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, effective February 26, 1965.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII No. 5

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International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam

EXPULSION OF FIXED TEAMS BY NORTH VIETNAM

On February 12, 1965, the North Vietnamese authorities demanded the withdrawal of the fixed teams of the International Commission for Supervision and Control. The teams were an essential part of the 1954 Geneva settlement, and the Commission was, therefore, very reluctant to agree to their withdrawal. The attitude of the North Vietnamese authorities, however, left the Commission no alternative and, on February 27, in view of the gravity of the North Vietnamese action, it informed the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference of recent developments and asked them to take steps to remedy the situation.

The Polish delegation dissented from the Commission's views and, since its statement did not, in the opinion of the Canadian Government, provide an accurate assessment of the situation, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, when releasing the report, issued the following statement:

The Canadian Government regards this report as having been submitted under that section of Article 43 of the Geneva Agreement, which reads as follows: "The International Commission shall inform the members of the Conference in all cases where its activity is being hindered". The withdrawal of the Commission's fixed teams from North Vietnam at the insistence of the North Vietnamese authorities is an obvious and very serious illustration of the way the work of the Commission has been hindered by North Vietnam. For years, the Northern teams have not been allowed to conduct meaningful controls, but their presence was symbolic of the Geneva settlement and North Vietnam's acceptance of it. The demand for the withdrawal of teams and the implementation of this demand, in certain cases before the Commission's instructions to its own teams had been received, represents a clear departure from the procedures envisaged under Article 35 of the Geneva Agreement. This article specifies that agreement between the International Commission and the party concerned is necessary before any changes in the location of the teams can be made; it also specifies that the teams shall have the right to move freely and that they shall receive from the local civil and military authorities all facilities they may require for the fulfilment of their tasks..

Insufficient Reason for Withdrawal

The Canadian Government regards the reasons adduced by North Vietnam for the withdrawal of teams as insufficient. Only two out of the five fixed teams were located in the general area of recent air strikes. Moreover, in all cases, because the North Vietnamese authorities had been intent on the teams being as ineffec-

tive as possible, the team headquarters had been located in such a way as to ensure that Commission personnel would be as remote as possible from any installations which would be legitimate objects of Commission observation and which would constitute potential targets for air strikes. Finally, the Commission had indicated clearly to the North Vietnamese authorities that its officers were prepared to take reasonable risks in discharging Commission responsibilities.

Faced, however, with North Vietnamese insistence on the removal of fixed teams, which were intended to be the Commission's "eyes and ears", the Commission had no choice but reluctant compliance.

The Canadian Government believes that, in present circumstances, it is impossible for the Commission to discharge properly the responsibilities assigned to it under the Geneva Agreement in North Vietnam. Within the Commission, the Canadian Delegation is pressing for action to have the North Vietnamese authorities indicate their intentions with respect to both full restoration of the teams with the freedom of movement originally intended and, failing that, with respect to the possibility of carrying out mobile controls based on Hanoi. The North Vietnamese authorities, to the present time, have given no satisfaction on these points, although the Hanoi office of the Commission headquarters remains intact. A copy of the report is attached.

International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam

Saigon,

February 27, 1965.

The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam presents its compliments to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina 1954, and has the honour to state that on the 12th February 1965, at 1715 hours, the Chief of the Liaison Mission of the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) asked the Chairman of the International Commission Bureau at Hanoi "to convey to the Commission the request of the PAVN High Command to take steps urgently to withdraw all the Fixed Teams in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRVN). This is because of the tension and the gravity of the situation and only taking into consideration the security of the teams".

(While in full agreement that the Co-Chairmen should be informed about the withdrawal of the teams situated in the DRVN, the Polish Delegation considered the terms of this Special Report to be inadequate and expressed its views in the attached Statement).

2. The International Commission immediately on the 13th February, 1965 sent instructions to the Chairman, International Commission Bureau, Hanoi, to request that "if PAVN Liaison Mission maintain decision" they should "present it in

writing", and to point out to the PAVN Liaison Mission the "far-reaching implications".

3. On the 13th February 1965, a telegram from Colonel Ha Van Lau, Chief of the PAVN Liaison Mission, was received (which is at Appendix 'A'). After drawing attention to recent air attacks against the territory of the DRVN, this telegram formally requested the withdrawal of the ICSC Fixed Teams in North Vietnam on security grounds.

4. The request was considered by the International Commission and, on 19th February 1965, a telegram was sent (which is at Appendix 'B') outlining the far-reaching implications of the request affecting the work of the ICSC under the Geneva Agreement, the fact that all controls by these Fixed Teams had been stopped, that the International Commission was prepared to take reasonable risks, but that if the PAVN felt obliged to maintain their decision, the International Commission would have no alternative but to withdraw its Fixed Teams with great reluctance. (The Statement of the Polish Delegation on this telegram is at Appendix 'D').

5. A reply to the International Commission's telegram was received on the 20th February 1965, from the PAVN Liaison Mission (which is at Appendix 'C') which reiterated their demand. This was further corroborated orally at 1500 hours on the 20th February 1965 by a representative of the PAVN Liaison Mission to the Chairman of the International Commission Bureau, Hanoi.

6. The Fixed Teams were withdrawn from Dong Dang, Hai Phong and Vinh on the night of 20/21st February, after being informed by the local authorities that immediate evacuation must take place for security reasons; and from Lao Kay and Dong Hoi on the following day. Thus, by the 22nd February 1965, all the five Fixed Teams of the ICSC had been withdrawn to Hanoi from their locations in the DRVN.

7. As the attached exchange of correspondence will indicate, the International Commission had no alternative but to order with great reluctance the withdrawal of its Fixed Teams from their sites on DRVN territory. The International Commission has informed the PAVN Liaison Mission that it is willing to take reasonable risks in discharging its duties and has indicated to the Liaison Mission that it considers the withdrawal to be a temporary measure. The International Commission intends to discuss with the PAVN authorities the functioning of Mobile Teams and the possibility of controls by the teams temporarily withdrawn from team sites. It will keep the question of the status and functions of its teams in north Vietnam under continuing review in the light of subsequent developments.

8. The International Commission takes this opportunity to request the Co-Chairmen to use their good offices with the members of the Geneva Conference so as to ensure that the implementation of the Geneva Agreement is not impeded, that mobile controls and other operations of the ICSC in North Vietnam continue without interruption, and in particular that appropriate conditions for the return of the Fixed Teams are rapidly created.

9. The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam takes this opportunity to renew to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indochina the assurances of its highest consideration.

J. B. SEABORN

Representative of the Government
of Canada on the International
Commission for Supervision and
Control in Vietnam.

M. A. RAHMAN

Representative of India on the
International Commission for
Supervision and Control in Vietnam

APPENDIX A

From: Colonel HA VAN LAU,
Chief of the Liaison Mission
of the VPA High Command.

To: H. E. Ambassador M. A. RAHMAN,
Chairman of the ICSC in Vietnam.

As is known to the International Commission, in their repeated air attacks against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the United States and its Agents in Saigon have not spared any place whatsoever from dwelling houses in the countryside to schools and hospitals in cities. Dong Hoi and Vinh, towns where IC Fixed Teams are located, have been subjected to repeated air raids. The zones of action of the IC Fixed Teams in North Vietnam are under perpetual threat. The strafing and bombing raids against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists and their agents constitute extremely brazen violations of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. So far the U.S. ruling circles and their Saigon agents have continued impudently to declare that they will go on with their normal criminal actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In view of this it is not possible to ensure the security of the members of the IC Fixed Teams in North Vietnam. It is the unswerving policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to respect and correctly implement the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. But for security reasons, as mentioned above, the Vietnam Peoples Army High Command feels obliged to request the IC to withdraw without delay its Fixed Teams in North Vietnam. I take this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the other members of the IC the assurances of my highest consideration.

APPENDIX B

From: Mr. M. A. RAHMAN, Chairman
of the ICSC in Vietnam,
Saigon.

To: Colonel HA VAN LAU, Chief
of the Liaison Mission of the
PAVN High Command, Hanoi.

Info: IC Bureau, Hanoi

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your telegram No. 73/QT dated 13th February 1965, in which you informed the Commission that, since it was not possible for your authorities to ensure the security of the members of the ICSC Fixed Teams in the DRVN, you requested the withdrawal of these teams without delay.

2. On the instructions of the Commission, the Chairman of the IC Bureau in Hanoi had indicated to you that, while we appreciated your concern for the safety of our teams, we were prepared to take all reasonable risks in order to fulfil our obligations under the Geneva Agreement. I should like to reiterate the Commission's readiness to take all reasonable risks in the discharge of our mandatory obligations.

3. The Commission feels it its duty to make clear to the PAVN Liaison Mission the far-reaching implications, even as a temporary measure, of this request affecting the work of the International Control Commission under the Geneva Agreement.

4. I also feel it my duty to remind you on behalf of the Commission that Article 35 of the Geneva Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam established the location of the Fixed Teams and that any alteration requires the agreement of the ICSC and the command of the party concerned; and, furthermore, that the Agreement nowhere envisages a withdrawal of teams solely on the request of either Party.

5. The Commission has noted the total cessation of controls by its Fixed Teams in the DRVN in the past week, including the movement of the couriers from Hanoi to these teams and the reasons given by the DRVN authorities for this. The Commission feels, therefore, that, as long as these conditions, for whatever reasons continue, the operation of the teams under the Geneva Agreement will be impossible.

6. If, nevertheless, you feel obliged to maintain your decision about the necessity of withdrawal of the teams, the Commission has no alternative but to order with great reluctance the withdrawal of its Fixed Teams in the DRVN territory.

7. It is the understanding of the Commission that such a withdrawal would be temporary; that mobile teams as stipulated under Article 35 would be allowed controls with short notice; and that the entire question of the return of the Fixed

Teams should be reconsidered at the end of a month, by which time the Commission sincerely hope the situation will have changed favourably.

8. While awaiting an urgent reply, I take this opportunity to convey on behalf of the ICSC in Vietnam the assurances of our highest consideration.

M. A. RAHMAN

APPENDIX C

From: Colonel HA VAN LAU,
Chief of the Liaison Mission
of the Vietnam People's Army
High Command.

To: H. E. Ambassador M. A. RAHMAN,
Chairman of the ICSC in
Vietnam.

The Mission has received the Commission urgent message dated February 1965. It takes note of the Commission appreciation of its concern for the security of the teams. The withdrawal of the IC Fixed Teams in North Vietnam has been made necessary for security reasons as expounded in the Mission's message No. 73/QT dated 13 February 1965 and therefore does not attract Article 35 of the Geneva Agreements. The Mission wishes to emphasize that it is the U.S. and Saigon Administration which have brought the serious situation now obtaining in North Vietnam and they must be held responsible for all consequences arising therefrom. The Mission also takes note of the Commission order to withdraw all its Fixed Teams on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It wishes to inform the Commission that necessary arrangements have been made by the local authorities for a prompt withdrawal of the teams in the safest conditions. The Mission takes this opportunity to renew to the Chairman and to the members of the IC the assurances of its highest consideration.

APPENDIX D

Statement of the Polish Delegation

(on Commission telegram to PAVN, 19 February 1965).

The Polish Delegation voted against the telegram mentioned above, having in mind the fact that, due to the recent attacks of the United States and the Republic of Vietnam against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which put the team members in the DRVN under direct physical danger, and because of the imminent threat of continuation of such warlike acts, the PAVN request to with-

draw all the teams situated in the DRVN should have been carried out without delay.

The Polish Delegation is also of the opinion that the interpretation of Article 35 of the Geneva Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam given in the telegram is not correct. The PAVN decision does not concern the alteration of points of location of the teams, but the withdrawal of the teams for security reason. Therefore, the provisions of Article 35 do not find application to this case. February 28, 1965.

R. B. STAWICKI

Acting Representative of the
Polish People's Republic on
the International Commission for
Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

Text of Statement

The Polish Delegation is of the opinion that the Special Report of the International Commission dated 27 February 1965 does not reflect properly the background of the request of the People's Army of Vietnam High Command to withdraw the Commission's teams operating in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam particularly because it does not point out the real causes that forced the PAVN to take this decision, and, therefore, it may lead to some misinterpretations.

As it was clearly stated in the message of the PAVN dated 13 February, 1965, the decision was taken for the reason of security. On 7, 8 and 11 February 1965, the United States and the Republic of Vietnam armed forces attacked a number of places in the DRVN. Among the places attacked by the U.S. and RVN planes were also those where the Commission's teams were situated /Dong Hoi, Vinh/. Thus the members of the teams were under direct physical danger.

The Polish Delegation has always been of the opinion that the members of the International Commission must be prepared to take some reasonable risk. However, the responsibility for the security of the teams and other members of the International Commission rests entirely within the Parties to the Geneva Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam. And it is quite obvious that, because of the attacks mentioned above, the PAVN was obliged to take its decision and cannot be expected to bear such a responsibility when the causes of the danger are beyond its control, and when imminent threat of further warlike acts exists.

That is why the justified decision of the PAVN concerning the withdrawal of the teams must be viewed in the light of the aggressive acts directed against the DRVN, which, as it was indicated in the Special Report of 13 February 1965, constitute a violation of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam.

It is the opinion of the Polish Delegation that in present circumstances all the efforts should be concentrated to stop the U.S. and RVN military acts against the DRVN. Thus the hindrance of the Commission's activity will be removed and the security of its team members restored.

February 28, 1965.

R. B. STAWICKI,
Acting Representative of the
Polish People's Republic on
the International Commission for
Supervision and Control in Vietnam.



VISIT OF MALAWI DELEGATION

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, with members of the Malawi Delegation that visited Ottawa March 23 to 26, 1965. Left to right: His Excellency J. D. Rubadiri, Malawi Ambassador to Washington; the Honourable J. W. Nisonthi, Minister of Transport and Communications; Mr. Martin; and the Honourable J. Tembo, Minister of Finance and Trade.

Canada and Vietnam

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
TO THE EDITORS OF THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS,
TORONTO, MARCH 26, 1965.

I WELCOME the opportunity of speaking to you this evening. I say this because I am aware of the very important part you are playing in the public life of our country. The press has, of course, a vital responsibility to discharge in any free society. And that is to focus public attention on the issues of the day and to generate informed public discussion of those issues. But it seems to me that, as editors of the foreign-language press, you have an area of responsibility which extends beyond that. For you are serving a readership which is concerned, at one and the same time, to preserve its distinctive cultural heritage and to give expression to its identity as part of the broader Canadian scene. In a country which has built and which is building its national life on the conception of unity in diversity, there is an obvious need to meet this dual concern. I know that you are aware of that need and are meeting it conscientiously and with the full measure of your responsibility in mind.

We are engaged in Canada at the present time in a reassessment of the realities of our national life and a determination of how we can best build for the future. In this process we are pledged to take account of the contribution made by the various ethnic groups which you represent and to give thought to the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution. We owe what we are as a country to the hard work and co-operation and the vision of Canadians of many different origins. All our citizens have an equal stake in the country they have helped to build, and all have an equal claim to share in Canada's future opportunities.

I want to speak to you tonight about the situation in Vietnam, which, I need hardly say, has been in the forefront of our preoccupation in recent weeks.

Canada has watched this situation evolve over the past ten years. As members of the International Commission in that country, we have been charged — along with India and Poland — with the supervision of the arrangements that were concluded at the Geneva Conference in 1954 and, it was hoped, would bring peace not only to Vietnam but to the Indochinese area as a whole. These arrangements have always been fragile as far as they related to Vietnam; they are now very near the point of collapse.

There has, of course, been criticism of the Commission for having stood by while this dangerous situation we are facing in Vietnam today was taking shape. I

must say quite frankly that this criticism seems to me misdirected. It leaves out of account the very limited mandate within which the Commission has had to operate. It was set up to supervise, not to enforce, the terms of the Geneva arrangements. This was done on the assumption that the parties to these arrangements were prepared to abide by their undertakings. Where those undertakings were being breached, as turned out to be the case, all the Commission could do was to make known the facts and their long-range implications.

I should be the first to concede that the Commission has not always done that as effectively as we should have wished. I have myself had occasion, recently, to refer to the frustrations that have attended our participation in the work of the Commission. Still, taking a dispassionate look at the activities of the Commission as a whole, I should say that it has had a restraining influence on the situation, without which the arrangements contemplated at Geneva might well have collapsed even more quickly and more drastically than, in the event, they did. I should also say that the Commission has played — and is continuing, in this present situation, to play — an important role in focussing international attention on the course of developments in Vietnam.

Our presence in Vietnam over these past ten years has enabled us, I think, to arrive at a pretty objective analysis of what has been happening in that country. Nevertheless, it is sometimes suggested that we are taking the position we have been taking because, in the final analysis, we are bound to support the views and policies of the United States on a crucial issue of this kind. As far as I can see, that suggestion bears little relation to the facts.

Canada Forms Own Policy

Of course, we can never be wholly unmindful of the very heavy responsibility which rests upon the United States by virtue of its position in the world. But this has never prevented us from formulating our policies in terms of Canadian interests and on the basis of Canadian assessments. Nor has it prevented us from freely expressing our views where these have differed from those of the United States. I need only refer to trade with Communist China or the maintenance of relations with Cuba as important issues of policy where there have been, and continue to be, genuine differences between us.

But let us look more closely at the position we have taken in respect of the situation in Vietnam. I think it is fair to say that we have tried to take a balanced view of that situation. We have tried to draw the attention of all concerned to the dangers inherent in that situation. We have appealed to all concerned to face up to their responsibilities. We have reported and will continue to report breaches of the Geneva Agreement on both sides. And we have never, of course, in any way whatsoever condoned the use of force — and again we must remember that force is being used in Vietnam on both sides. In sum, we have tried to approach our responsibilities in the Commission with fairness and impartiality. We have not approached those responsibilities any differently from the way in which we have

approached our responsibilities in the Middle East, in the Congo, in Cyprus and elsewhere where Canadians have served to keep the peace.

Given the nature of the situation in Vietnam, however, we have thought it right that events, and the sequence of events, in that country should be set in their proper perspective. And it is part of that perspective, I think, that, almost from the beginning, the authorities in North Vietnam have been engaged in inciting, encouraging and supporting hostile activities in South Vietnam. That support has taken the form of armed and unarmed personnel, of arms and munitions, of direction and guidance. And it has been aimed at nothing less than the ultimate overthrow of the South Vietnamese administration. This is neither a fairy-tale nor a piece of fiction, as some would have us believe today. It is a judgment fully supported by evidence, including evidence presented by the Commission. And it must certainly form part of any balanced assessment of the situation in Vietnam.

Problem Not Basically Domestic

I am concerned that there should be no misunderstanding of the nature of the conflict that is being conducted in that country today. Above all, let us not be deluded into thinking that what is happening in Vietnam is a basically domestic matter, a matter of spontaneous insurgency, which the Vietnamese should be left to settle in their own way. Of course, there are in Vietnam, as in many other emergent countries, elements of social and economic discontent, of dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the pace at which it has been possible to make progress towards better conditions of life and a reshaping of political institutions. But that is not the root cause of the instability that has taken such a tragic toll in that country.

What we are facing in Vietnam is a process of subversion directed by the authorities of North Vietnam against South Vietnam; and it is aimed, in the final analysis, at establishing in South Vietnam a form and pattern of government which the South Vietnamese rejected decisively ten years ago. It may not be aggression in the classical sense of the term, but it is aggression all the same, aggression carried on under the guise of a "war of national liberation". And, being aggression, it must be identified as such and brought under control. For, as the Prime Minister put it only recently, in this nuclear world of ours "we cannot afford any permissible kinds of international violence".

A decade and a half or so back, we were facing a somewhat similar situation in Europe. We decided at that time that we could not afford to let the situation set a trend. And we joined together in the North Atlantic Alliance to resist that trend and to arrest it through the combined deterrent power we were able to muster between us. I am convinced that our action in that situation was instrumental in gradually converting the Soviet Union to the advantages of a policy of peaceful co-existence. And, although our interpretation of that term does not quite coincide with that which the Soviet Union would like to give it, I think it is fair to say that, certainly since the confrontation over Cuba in 1962, the Soviet Union has

accepted the implications of the nuclear stalemate and the fact that war can no longer be regarded as a tolerable instrument of policy.

Campaign of Covert Aggression

But the position of China is different, and it is with Chinese encouragement that the authorities in North Vietnam are conducting their campaign of covert aggression against South Vietnam. And, if that aggression is not brought under control in Vietnam, can we seriously envisage that similar situations will not arise elsewhere in Asia: in Thailand, in Malaysia — perhaps in India? And can we be sure that there are not sources of instability in Africa and in Latin America which will not be susceptible of being exploited in a similar way? And if we cannot be sure of that, are we right to resign ourselves — as some would have us do — to letting the surge of events sweep over Vietnam? Or is this doctrine of covert aggression something that concerns the international community as a whole in its efforts to consolidate peace and security in the world and to establish a sound and viable basis for relations among nations?

I have tried to set the situation in Vietnam in this broader context because that is the context in which, I think, recent developments in that country must be seen. Nothing could be more dangerous, in my view, than to oversimplify the problem we are facing. That would be particularly dangerous at a time when all our attention must necessarily be focussed on achieving a solution in Vietnam. Because I very much doubt if we can expect an unrealistic assessment of the situation to yield either practicable or durable solutions.

As far as the Canadian Government is concerned, we are deeply concerned about the implications of the present situation for world peace. We appreciate the very grave risks of a widening of the present conflict, which must be avoided at all costs. We are directing all our efforts to that end. We wish to see peace restored in Vietnam — and, when I say Vietnam, I mean the whole of Vietnam. I believe that is also the course which the overwhelming majority of Canadians would wish to see followed. But I know you will understand me when I say that the peace that is established in Vietnam must be a genuine peace. It must not be a fraudulent peace. It must be a peace which will allow the South Vietnamese to live in conditions they have freely chosen for themselves and which will provide them with adequate guarantees against outside pressure or intervention.

Negotiated Solution Inevitable

I do not think the problem in Vietnam is capable of solution by military means. I regard a negotiated solution of that problem at some stage as both right and inevitable. I should earnestly hope that that stage could be reached sooner rather than later, and we shall certainly continue to do what we can to help bring about the conditions which would allow negotiations to be undertaken with a reasonable prospect of achieving a solution. At the same time, we cannot be indifferent to the risks that would be involved in a situation in which negotiations were being under-

taken without the ground having been properly prepared. That is why we think it better that patient progress should be made towards a negotiation now, in the interests of minimizing the risks of failure later.

As a first priority, I should say that there must be a relaxation of tensions in Vietnam. But, if that is to happen, it will require a genuine disposition by all concerned to see this situation settled through the instrument of negotiation. And I am sorry to say that all our soundings have not yet disclosed such a disposition on the part of either North Vietnam or Communist China. Furthermore, within the last week, the Soviet Union has refused categorically to associate itself with any call to a conference to settle this problem on a peaceful basis.

Prerequisites for Negotiation

The immediate prospects for a negotiation cannot, therefore, be said to be encouraging. And I do not think it would be profitable, in these circumstances, to try to speculate on the precise elements of such a negotiation. There are three general points, nevertheless, which I believe can usefully be made at this stage:

First, there will have to be a cease-fire of some kind in the area. The North Vietnamese have been calling for the cessation of United States raids on North Vietnamese territory. The United States, for their part, have been insisting on the cessation of infiltration and aggression from North Vietnam. It occurs to me that there may be a possibility of balancing off these positions as part of the process of paving the way for a negotiation.

Second, any negotiation, when it comes about, must be meaningful. In other words, it must be a negotiation, not a capitulation. It must be based on the readiness of all concerned to modify their existing policies, to enter into commitments for the future, and to be prepared to abide by those commitments.

Third, the past history of events in Vietnam and the tragic course these events are taking at the present time make it abundantly clear, I think, that there must be an assumption of responsibility by the international community in relation to any ultimate settlement in that area. What form that responsibility might take, whether it takes the form of guarantees or whether it takes the form of a continuing international presence, are matters to be settled in the course of negotiation. But I doubt if there can be any durable settlement in Vietnam which will not, in one way or another, involve international backing.

The problem of Vietnam has caused deep anxiety in Canada. It is only natural, therefore, that we should ask ourselves what part there may be for Canada to play in reversing the course of events in that area.

Of course, the ordinary diplomatic channels are available to us. We have used these and shall continue to use them vigorously to urge restraint on all concerned, to see if there is any contribution we can make towards preparing the ground for negotiations, and generally to probe any openings there may be for useful initiatives. Canada has no direct interests in Southeast Asia, and I think that may help to enhance the opportunities that are open to us.

Role of Commission

Then there is our membership of the International Commission. I still think that the Commission, by its very presence, exercises a certain restraining influence on developments, though I should not want to put it higher than that. It is also just conceivable that, being composed as it is, the Commission could serve as a channel of contact if that were desired at any stage by any of the parties. Meanwhile, the Commission has a continuing responsibility to draw attention to any violations of the Geneva arrangements. It must carry out that responsibility objectively and impartially. And it must be concerned at all times to assess events in the balance of the total situation in Vietnam. This we have endeavoured to do and this is the direction in which we shall continue to apply our efforts so long as we think there is a useful part for us to play.

In the final analysis, of course, there may be limits to the influence we can bring to bear on an issue of this kind. These limits are inherent in the status of any middle power in the world today. But they do not in any way diminish our responsibility in a situation which is so pregnant with danger as the situation facing us in Vietnam and is threatening to set back much of the progress we have made over the past two decades towards arriving at acceptable norms of international conduct and co-operation. It is a source of regret to us that, for the time being at least, there is no clear prospect of the United Nations being able to play the part we should expect it to play in this situation. For it is a situation in which the interests of the international community are, and will continue to be, deeply engaged.

Cyprus

CANADA has always regarded participation in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations as a fundamental obligation of membership, and has given practical demonstrations of this belief by supporting UN efforts in Korea, the Congo, the Middle East and Kashmir with Canadian personnel. Canada maintained this tradition of support in March 1964 when the Secretary-General of the UN asked Canada to participate in the UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). In addition to support for UN peace-keeping efforts, several other reasons prompted the Government's decision to assist in dealing with the dangerous situation which had arisen as a result of the inter-communal hostilities on the island. Two of the most interested parties in the dispute, Greece and Turkey, were allied with Canada in NATO, and every effort had to be made to reduce the possibility of hostilities between them. Secondly, the young republic of Cyprus was a fellow-member of the Commonwealth.

Canada's willingness to support the UN operations was dramatically shown on March 13, 1964, when Parliament approved the participation of Canadian forces in UNFICYP and on the same day an advance party of the Canadian contingent left for Cyprus aboard aircraft of the Royal Canadian Air Force. Since that date Canada has played a major role in the UN operations on the island, which are designed to stop violence, reduce tension and attempt to bring about the atmosphere of relative tranquillity that is a prerequisite to any attempt to achieve a long-term solution of the Cyprus problem.

Canada's continued support of UN peace-keeping efforts in Cyprus was reflected in two recent events: government agreement to a further extension of Canadian participation in the UN Force and the rotation of the Canadian contingent.

The Security Council resolution of March 4, 1964, recommended that the UN Force be stationed in Cyprus for three months. Consequently, every three months on the anniversary of the date the Force became operational, i.e., March 27, 1964, the stationing of the Force has had to be extended for another three months. Appropriate Security Council resolutions were passed in June, September and December 1964 and on March 19, 1965, when the Force was extended to June 26. On the same date, the Secretary-General asked the Government of Canada and of other contributing countries to maintain their contingents in Cyprus at their present strengths for a further period of three months. After consideration, the Canadian Government agreed to do so, and the Secretary-General was informed on March 22 that Canada's participation would continue "on the same terms as at present".

Costs of Maintaining the Contingent

At the time UNFICYP was being set up, the Canadian Government agreed to bear all the costs of positioning and maintaining its contingent in Cyprus, with the

exception that it be reimbursed by the UN for out-of-pocket costs relating to Canadian personnel and equipment provided to UNFICYP headquarters and the headquarters of the Nicosia Zone. The Government assumed this financial obligation because it believed that the UN operation was necessary to prevent further deterioration of a serious international situation and because it believed that, owing to the financial crisis which the UN was facing, UNFICYP could not have been financed in any other way. The UN has been made aware, however, that this decision was taken without prejudice to the established Canadian position on the financing of UN peace-keeping operations — namely, that the principle of collective responsibility of all UN members should be recognized. It should be noted that Britain and Ireland have also agreed to bear the costs of their military contingents. About 35 UN members have made cash contributions to the \$2-million monthly cost of maintaining the UN Force in Cyprus.

Rotation of Canadians

The second recent event of note was the rotation of the Canadian contingent. Canada's original contribution in March 1964 was composed of the First Battalion of the Royal 22nd Regiment and a reconnaissance squadron of the Royal Canadian Dragoons. These units were replaced in September 1964 by the First Battalion of the Canadian Guards and a reconnaissance squadron of the Lord Strathcona Horse. As soon as the UN extended the Force and Canada had agreed to continue with its contribution in March 1965, the second rotation started. Between March 25 and April 10, 730 members of the First Battalion of the Queen's Own Rifles, 95 members of the reconnaissance squadron of the Royal Canadian Dragoons and 118 members of the Canadian contingent headquarters were flown by RCAF aircraft to Cyprus. After a short "handover" period, their predecessors were returned to Canada. In addition, the Commander and headquarters staff of the UN Nicosia Zone, which is a Canadian responsibility, and the Canadian members of the staff of UNFICYP's headquarters were replaced by other Canadians.

On April 14, Canada's contingent totalled 1,153 officers and men and was the largest contribution to the 6,000-man Force. Other contingents were those of Ireland (1,060), Denmark (986), Britain (983), Finland (938), Sweden (823), and Austria (44). In addition, there were 172 civilian police — 40 from Denmark, 39 each from Australia and Sweden, 34 from Austria and 20 from New Zealand.

Patrol Areas

The Canadian contingent is deployed along the strategic Kyrenia Road linking Nicosia with Kyrenia on the north coast, and is responsible for operating a convoy system on that road. It also has responsibility for the important Kyrenia Pass and St. Hilarion areas. In December, other UN troops were given the task of patrolling the "green line" dividing the Greek Cypriot from the Turkish Cypriot sectors of Nicosia, which Canadians had handled from the beginning. In place of this task,

Canadian troops assumed the responsibility for the Western sector of the Nicosia Zone.

At the time of writing, no negotiations were in progress between the parties, though these had been called for in the report of the UN Mediator for Cyprus, which was issued on March 26, 1965. Until substantial progress is made toward agreement among the parties on the basic issues that divide them, it is likely that UNFICYP, or some other form of UN presence, will be required in Cyprus to prevent the situation from deteriorating.



AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE INSTALLED

On March 24, 1965, the new French Ambassador to Canada, Mr. François Leduc, presented his letters of credence to Governor-General Georges P. Vanier in a brief ceremony marked by the sincere cordiality that inspires the close and excellent relations between the two countries. The above photograph shows (left to right): Mr. Leduc; the Governor General; the Canadian Secretary of State, the Honourable Maurice Lamontagne.

The United Nations at the Crossroads

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
TO THE CANADIAN CLUB OF MONTREAL ON APRIL 12, 1965

WE ARE facing, at this moment, one of the most serious crises we have faced since the end of the Second World War. It is not a crisis which has come upon us suddenly. As Canadians — as members of the International Commission — we have watched that crisis build up in Vietnam over the past ten years. It has now reached the point of open conflict. It has reached the point where that conflict, by the progression of stroke and counter-stroke, could expand beyond the limits of control. It has reached the point where the maintenance of peace and security in that part of the world are seriously at issue.

In such a situation, the interests of the international community are deeply engaged. We should be right to expect, therefore, that the international community would bring its influence to bear upon that situation. And the channel that comes to mind for doing that is, of course, the United Nations. For the United Nations is the highest expression of the collective will of the international community to peace. It is the embodiment of the collective determination of its members "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". It is the instrument uniquely designed by its founders to achieve the pacific settlement of disputes and, where necessary, to deal effectively with threats to the peace, with breaches of the peace and with acts of aggression.

UN's Varied Role

If we look back over the past two decades, it would be difficult to think of many situations of the kind which is now confronting us in Vietnam in which the United Nations has not had a part to play. In some it has served as an organ of mediation. In others it has acted to contain the conflict until a settlement could be negotiated at the political level. In others still, it has been able to muster an international presence to supervise and guarantee arrangements freely entered into by the parties concerned. At the very least, the United Nations was able to keep open the channels, to provide a discreet venue for contact between the parties. And it was able to do these things because there is written into the Charter of the United Nations a collective commitment by *all* its members in *all* situations "to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security".

But here we are, faced with a situation that is full of the gravest risks, with a situation that is threatening to set back much of the patient progress we have made towards broadening the basis of international co-operation, and the United Nations

has been powerless to intervene. It has been compelled to stand by in impotence while the situation deteriorated. It has been incapable of taking the action it should be taking to reverse the course of events in Vietnam, to bring the parties to the negotiating table, to prepare the ground for a peaceful and honourable accommodation. It has been incapable of doing these things because some of the parties concerned have refused to accept its credentials to act in this situation and because it is itself engulfed in a crisis which has had the effect of paralyzing the general will for international action.

I am aware, of course, that the good offices of the Secretary-General have been available to the parties throughout this critical situation. I am also hopeful that the Secretary-General will be able to play an important part in carrying forward the imaginative and far-reaching proposals that are now under consideration for the co-operative development of the whole region of Southeast Asia.

Future of the Organization in Doubt

What I am concerned with at this time, however, is the future of the United Nations as an organization. Twenty years after the First World War, the League of Nations came to the end of its effective life. And it foundered on the rock of collective security. Are we going to allow, can we afford to allow, the United Nations to share the fate of its predecessor? Are we going to opt out of our collective commitment to a sensible world order, our commitment to make the United Nations "a centre for harmonizing the action of nations" in the attainment of our common ends? Or are we going to revalue the role of the United Nations, to give it the authority, the responsibility and the support which it must have if it is to play its proper part in a rapidly changing world? If we do not want history to repeat itself, these are questions which we must ask ourselves in this twentieth year of the existence of the United Nations.

But before we attempt to answer them, we must, I think, try to determine how the United Nations was brought to the position in which it finds itself at the present moment. And I use the passive tense advisedly because, as Senator Fulbright recently put it, "even the most ingeniously designed political institutions are likely to be unworkable in the absence of an active corporate will to make them work".

Unfounded Assumptions

When the United Nations came into being, it was assumed that its effective operation would depend upon the great powers acting in harmony with one another. It was assumed that the United Nations would be supported and sustained by the strength of the great powers. And that assumption applied, of course, with particular force to the functions which the United Nations was expected to discharge in the matter of keeping the peace. In the event, these assumptions failed to materialize. Instead of drawing on the strength of the great powers to bring situations of conflict and instability under control, the problem for the United Nations became one of insulating such situations from great-power involvement. Needless to say, in those

circumstances, much of the machinery envisaged in the Charter for maintaining or restoring international peace and security proved, in practice, to be inoperable.

Divergence of Views

Then, of course, there has always been a difference of view among the great powers as to the latitude they were prepared to give the United Nations as the focus of an evolving system of world order and security. As a senior official of the United States Government recently defined it, the United States approach to this question has been "that the Charter of the United Nations is a treaty obligation and affords the framework for an evolving system of international law and order which should be upheld and expanded by custom and by extension as world conditions permit". But that has not been the approach of all the other great powers. And, in particular, it has not been the approach of the Soviet Union. The Soviet view of the United Nations has always been much more restrictive. It has not been prepared to see the United Nations evolve into that "dynamic instrument of governments" which the late Dag Hammarskjöld envisaged and which alone can do justice to the conception of an evolving world community.

So there was, from the beginning, that divergence of views about the role of the United Nations. In the fact of that divergence, the United Nations did well in moving forward as far as it did. And perhaps we should not be too surprised that this divergence, which was always there, should now have come to the surface in the form of a direct confrontation over the issue of collective responsibility for peace keeping.

In a recent article, Professor Hans Morgenthau suggested that there was an "insoluble contradiction between national sovereignty and an effective international organization". Now perhaps, if we think in terms of world government, that may be so. But I do not myself think the two are irreconcilable in practice. Nor was that the view of the framers of the United Nations Charter, who explicitly assumed that the organization would be "based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members". The real point, surely, is this: the United Nations is an organization composed of sovereign states; as such, its effectiveness depends on the willingness of its members to co-operate freely and responsibly in the realization of its purposes and objectives.

The New Nationalism

Now I think it is fair to say that, when the Second World War ended, there was a broad disposition to do that, to work together for the achievement of a more rational world order. To some extent this disposition has continued. It is certainly at the base of what we have been able to accomplish over the past two decades in working together internationally towards common objectives. But, in the intervening 20 years, the world has changed. In many countries, recovery and reconstruction have led to a resurgent sense of national identity. And, in scores of new countries, the current of nationalism which propelled these countries to independent nationhood has continued to flow strongly.

I am not here concerned with an assessment of nationalism. I am inclined, in fact, to think that the pendulum may have swung, that nationalism may have entered into a new phase. Certainly, the constructive impact it has on the nation-building process cannot be seriously discounted, particularly in the new countries. What I am concerned to argue is that the conditions prevailing at the end of the Second World War — conditions in which men tended to focus their hopes and aspirations beyond the national horizon — no longer apply in quite the same measure today.

There is another consideration which I think is relevant to any analysis of the present position of the United Nations. When the United Nations came into being in 1945 it had 51 founding members. Today, 20 years later, its membership is 114. The vast majority of the new members have different problems and preoccupations from our own. Of course, they are concerned with peace no less than we are. But they are also concerned with racial equality, with the eradication of colonialism, and above all with the yawning and widening gap between rich and poor in the world. They need an environment of peace if they are to carry forward their economic development with any prospect of success. But they would argue, conversely, that there cannot be true peace or true stability in the world unless the sources of conflict, the sources of instability are removed. And that, in their view, requires an imaginative international approach to their problems. And they remind us that, in the Charter of the United Nations, we pledged ourselves not only “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” but also “to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom”.

Core of Crisis

These, then, are some of the factors that have led to the present crisis in the affairs of the United Nations. The core of that crisis relates to the matter of peace keeping. In the face of great-power deadlock, it became clear that the type of enforcement action provided for in the Charter could not realistically be contemplated. And so the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations developed along different lines. Essentially they involved the injection of United Nations forces into situations of conflict or potential conflict with the consent of the state or states concerned. They involved “holding the fort”, as it were, until longer-term solutions could be brought into play. And where such operations could not be mounted by decision of the Security Council, whose primacy in these matters was never really at issue, they were mounted under the residual authority which the Charter has conferred upon the General Assembly in these matters.

The difficulty arose when the Soviet Union, France and some other countries refused to be bound to pay their share of the cost of certain peace-keeping operations. That was not, of course, the position of the vast majority of member states which accepted the principle of collective financial responsibility as applying to these operations. And the view of the majority was also sustained by the International Court which confirmed that the costs of peace keeping were expenses of

the organization within the meaning of the relevant article of the Charter and thus legitimately assessed by the General Assembly.

Dilemma Facing the UN

And so the Soviet Union, France and the other countries concerned found themselves in a position of financial default. By the January 1 of this year, 13 of these countries had accumulated arrears in amounts which brought them within the scope of Article 19 of the Charter. That is to say, they could be deprived of their vote in the General Assembly. But, in the final analysis, the General Assembly could not bring itself to take that step. It realized that such a step would divide the membership, perhaps irrevocably, that it involved the risk of two of the great powers walking out of the United Nations — that, whatever the outcome, the financial position of the organization was unlikely to be repaired in that way. At the same time, the General Assembly was not prepared to condone financial default; it was not prepared to surrender the principle of collective financial responsibility even though it failed explicitly to uphold it. Personally, I regard this as a great tragedy. But having said that, I must also acknowledge the great dilemma with which the General Assembly was faced. Either way, the stakes were incalculably high. And, in these circumstances, there was perhaps something to be said for the view that what was needed was a pause, a pause for negotiation, a pause for reflection, which would give all concerned an opportunity to consider how the position of the United Nations can best be brought into line with the changing requirements and the changing realities of a changing world.

UN Not World Government

Whatever the gravity of the present crisis, we should not, I think, allow it do distort our perspective. This is not the first great crisis the United Nations has faced and it will not be the last. We must recognize that the United Nations is not — and is not likely, in the foreseeable future, to become — an instrument of world government. The late Dag Hammarskjöld rightly envisaged it as “a dynamic instrument”. But he did not lose sight of the fact that it was, in essence, an “instrument of governments”. And, much as we might regret it, most governments are not yet prepared, in this imperfect world of ours, to subordinate national interest to any significant extent to the collective interest of the world community where the two appear to diverge.

If that applies to governments in their generality, it applies, I think, with particular force to the governments of the great powers. In a deeply divided world, that is a fact of life which we have to accept realistically. It does not mean, of course, that we must abandon the ideal — the vision — of a more rational world order. What it does mean is, as Victor Hugo once put it, that there are limits to the amount of future which it is practicable to inject into the present.

I also believe that we must see the present situation as a whole. It is true, of course, that the United Nations has reached a critical juncture in its affairs. It is also

true that some phases of the work of the United Nations have had to be put in suspense. But that is only one facet of the situation. The Security Council was able to discharge a heavy agenda of business in 1964. In the same year, the United Nations was instrumental in mounting the largest economic conference to have been held in recorded history. The United Nations is now following up the results of that conference by bringing within a single international focus the problem of economic development in its various ramifications. The Specialized Agencies of the United Nations are continuing to move forward vigorously in their respective fields — in improving health and education, in augmenting food supplies, in bettering labour standards, in regulating international aviation and communications, in harnessing the atom to peaceful uses. And I need hardly remind you that United Nations forces — including Canadian forces — are still keeping the peace in various quarters of the globe from Cyprus to Korea.

So what is at stake here, as *The Economist* recently put it, is not just the survival of a debating society. What is at stake is the whole pattern of international co-operation which we have been able to evolve over the past 20 years. What is at stake is the future of the organization which, more than any other, has been the focus of that evolution. And time is now of the essence.

No Way But Forward

In this situation our course is clear. We have no alternative but to go forward. We must consolidate the progress we have made. We must invest the United Nations with the influence, the strength and the moral authority to discharge the responsibilities which the Charter has laid upon it. We must build on the past, but we must also open up new perspectives for the future.

How then, do we go about doing these things?

First, we must restore the United Nations to solvency. We must at all costs avoid a recurrence of the present crisis.

Second, we must preserve the capacity of the United Nations to play its rightful part in the maintenance of international peace and security. We must give the United Nations an assured and effective capacity to act in future emergencies. Much as I wish it were otherwise, I believe that the need for peace keeping will continue undiminished in the foreseeable future.

Third, we must proceed in these matters on the basis of the broadest possible consensus of the membership of the United Nations. That, I believe, is the only way in which we can make sure that the solutions we devise with regard to peace keeping are efficient and durable.

Fourth, we must take serious account of the shift of emphasis that has taken place in the preoccupations of the membership of the United Nations. We must be prepared to give equal weight to the problems of peace and security and to those relating to the betterment of the social and economic conditions in which the vast majority of mankind are constrained to live. These are two sides of the same coin. We shall not achieve one without achieving the other.

Fifth, we must be prepared to go further in accommodating the new nations of the world. We have been inclined to see the United Nations as an instrument for security and stability. They see it as an instrument for peaceful change in the world. There must be a bridging between these two conceptions if we are to give the new nations a firm stake in the United Nations.

Sixth, we must recognize — and act on the recognition — that in the world of today the United Nations cannot be the property or preserve of any single nation or group of nations. It is our common property.

Seventh, we must also recognize that, so long as there are divisions in the world, they are bound to find reflection in the United Nations. If we want to make the United Nations a more effective body, we must work at narrowing the differences that divide us. We must seize all opportunities of international co-operation that are open to us — outside no less than within the United Nations.

Eighth, whatever the exigencies of the present situation, we must keep the goal of universal membership firmly before us as a means of strengthening the organization.

Ninth, we must be prepared — each and every one of us, great nations or small — to take those steps that are necessary to make the United Nations a really effective instrument of world order. And the idea of shared responsibility must inform our participation in the United Nations over the whole range of its activities.

Those, as I see it, are the elements of a new approach to the United Nations. They are predicated on new attitudes and a new willingness to make the United Nations a meaningful instrument of peace and well-being in the world. We have reached a crossroads in the affairs of the United Nations. We can re-launch it strongly on the course envisaged for it by the framers of the Charter. Or we can let it atrophy into irrelevance to the problems of a changing world. As far as Canada is concerned, the choice is clear.

Our Relations with France, One of the Pillars of our Foreign Policy

AN ADDRESS BY MR. JEAN-LUC PÉPIN, PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE, TO THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN CANADA AT MONTREAL, ON MARCH 26, 1965.

. . . For many years, Canadian politicians have been telling us that our foreign policies rest upon three pillars: our activities in world and regional organizations, our membership in the Commonwealth, and our neighbourly relations with the United States. It seems to me that a fourth pillar is now being raised, our close and effective co-operation with France, a co-operation that is entirely natural since it stems from the cultural and political similarities between our two countries and from our mutual and self-evident economic interests.



Members of the French Chamber of Commerce are shown in this photograph with Mr. Jean-Luc Pépin, Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Trade and Commerce. Left to right: Mr. Gérard Parizeau, Vice-President; Mr. Pépin; Mr. Bernard Leclerc, President; Mr. Pierre Salbaing, Vice-President.

Why have we waited so long to till and nurture so rich a field? Some may say that we were afraid to slight other countries. (The leaders of these countries were probably the first to be surprised at our bashfulness.) What about domestic differences among Canadians? Let us not be too quick to blame our English-speaking countrymen. We all know that in France, as well as in French Canada, stupid prejudices have hampered any true *rapprochement*. We French-Canadians have had a frightful inferiority complex in relation to our cousins abroad — they have overwhelmed us with the full weight of their accent and with their knowledge of grammar. The average Frenchman has thought us irrevocably lost in the British-American plot, and found relief and gratification in an "Isle-of-Orleans" image, printed at Epinal, of which we ourselves have often been the most active promoters.

But let us look rather at the present and future of Franco-Canadian political, cultural and trade relations.

What do we see?

Favourable Circumstances

First, we see that the situation is extremely favourable to a *rapprochement*.

On the one hand, we have France, an ancient land which is modernizing, diversifying, automating and planning its economy by capitalizing, with great energy and originality, on its scientific and technical resources, which some thought to be exhausted; an old land whose philosophical, religious and artistic thought has always enchanted the young; an old country at the very centre of the most extraordinary political experiment of our times, the integration of Europe. This is a country, surely, to deserve our attention as Canadians.

On the other hand we have Canada, a young nation hastening toward maturity, becoming aware of the importance of education and culture in the development of its natural resources, trying to increase and diversify its industrial production, increasing its investments in social welfare, gradually winning new trade outlets, attempting to free itself from the amiable financial and technological embrace of the United States, examining its own political being. Would it not be possible for this country, 30 percent French-speaking, to attract the attention of France?

Between the old nation now rejuvenated and the young nation approaching maturity an encounter was perhaps inevitable; and there were many to welcome it, and to make it productive.

Recent Encounters

When we read the list of recent developments in Franco-Canadian relations, we are struck by the frequency and importance of our contacts. Let us recall only a few of them:

- (1) the visit by a Committee of the French National Assembly, in February 1963, at almost the same time as the important Baumgartner economic mission;

- (2) an exhibition of French technology in Montreal in November 1963, which introduced Canadians to the new industrialized France;
- (3) since then, frequent participation by Canadians in specialized French exhibitions, and numerous federal and Quebec trade missions;
- (4) a visit by Mr. Hays to the French Minister of Agriculture in September 1964;
- (5) a visit by Mr. Sharp to the French Ministers of Finance and Agriculture in December 1964.

In political and cultural affairs:

- (1) a meeting between President DeGaulle and Prime Minister Pearson in January 1964, in which the principle of periodic meetings between ministers of external affairs was accepted, and put into practice in May and December 1964;
- (2) the opening of consulates general in Bordeaux — already in business — and in Marseilles, on May 5;
- (3) a visit by the Committee for Cultural, Family and Social Affairs of the French National Assembly in July 1964;
- (4) a visit by Mr. Basdevant, Director-General of Cultural and Technical Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, in November 1964;
- (5) Mr. Hellyer's visit to Paris in February 1965;
- (6) in the communiqué issued after the last meeting between Messrs Couve de Murville and Martin, mention was made of "the advisability of sending a Canadian economic mission to France and the possibility of a meeting of the Franco-Canadian Joint Committee".

I am not forgetting the tremendous amount of work done by the Quebec authorities — the opening of Quebec House in Paris in September 1961, the many voyages of Messrs Gérin-Lajoie, Filion, René Lévesque and Gérard Lévesque, culminating in the visit of Mr. Lesage in 1964.

Cultural Agreements

Is all this activity without purpose? Certainly not. We have already achieved demonstrable results. To begin with the cultural side — first of all between Paris and Quebec, since it seems to me normal that there should be a particularly close association between Paris and Quebec in cultural affairs. Quebec is 80 percent French-speaking, and autonomous in educational matters. What could be more natural than a cultural understanding between Quebec and Paris?

And, while we are on the subject, Quebec as well as Ottawa possesses authority in matters of trade and industrial promotion. What, then, could be more natural than a "Maison du Québec" in Paris? What could be more natural for this establishment than a legal status resembling that of the Provincial Houses in London?

Ottawa has permitted and has encouraged these relations. I am not saying that all this was done with the smile that marks my speeches. Each of us is a conservative at heart! To be a liberal requires an intellectual effort!

Faced with the results so far achieved, some are shouting "victory" as though

a Bastille had just been toppled. Others are crying "defeat", as though the Austro-Hungarian Empire had just been restored. For my part, I call this, simply, progress, political wisdom, federal-provincial co-operation. (You have been wondering from the start how I was going to introduce the idea of co-operative federalism; well, I've just done it!) Our constitutional writs are not codes of slavery. Unfortunately, too many of those who wish to break loose from the ancient codes have only one desire — that is, to write new codes just as arbitrary, with the one difference that they express their own particular viewpoint. To achieve balance has always been a most difficult political exercise, and one that is only rarely successful.

Thanks to a compromise, Messrs Gérin-Lajoie and Morin were able to sign with the French authorities the understanding of February 27, 1965, ratified by an exchange of letters between Ottawa and Paris. This understanding provides for exchanges of research specialists, university professors and normal-school teachers, students, and specialists in physical education and adult education. This understanding should help in no small way to broaden the scope of the professions and trades in Quebec, thus contributing to Canada's industrial and cultural progress.

We should also notice:

- (1) a special programme of the Quebec Ministry of Education in 1964, involving an expenditure of about \$500,000, to facilitate training periods in French industry for Quebec engineers and technicians (about 100 young people, I am told, have already been placed);
- (2) an exchange of civil servants (January 1964) between Quebec and Ottawa, on the one hand, and Paris on the other (ten Canadians are now attending the National School of Administration, and French civil servants will soon make a tour of Canada).

Do these arrangements between Quebec and Paris imply that Ottawa is prepared to give up the idea of relations with France in these fields? Some would wish it so; they claim that it is impossible for French-speaking and English-speaking people to get along in Canada, while upbraiding the federal authority for not making bilingualism effective to a greater extent. Consciously or not, they would like to compel the French Government to arbitrate our constitutional conflicts. It appears that the French authorities have sensed the danger of this situation, judging by the number and importance of the conventions between Paris and Ottawa:

- (1) an agreement between French Radio-Television and the French section of the CBC (June 1963) for the exchange of programmes and for joint production; an agreement on motion-picture production (October 1963), calling for the free exchange of films and joint production;
- (2) a programme of exchange (1964) with France, Belgium and Switzerland, involving a Canadian expenditure of \$250,000 a year (three studios have already been reserved in the Cité universitaire des arts in Paris, a Canadian troupe took part in the University Drama Festival in Nancy, 30 scholarships have been granted to European students);

- (3) efforts of the National Research Council to call the attention of French research students to its postgraduate fellowships of \$6,000 (14 applications have been received this year, compared with two or three in previous years, and three have been accepted);
 - (4) a programme of external aid to French-speaking Africa, increased from \$300,000 a year between 1961 and 1963 to \$3.5 million in 1964 (a large share of this aid is earmarked for academic and technical training; more than 60 Canadian teachers are now in French-speaking Africa, 100 more will leave next September, and ten technical advisers are already at work).
- I do not have time enough to deal with projects for the future.

Immigration

We know that, traditionally, Frenchmen are reluctant to emigrate to Canada. Only 31,626 have come here since 1955. The Department of Immigration is now making considerable efforts to attract them in greater numbers. I have no doubt that the new Directorate of Immigration of Quebec is now also engaged in this project.

Travel

Canadians, in turn, have no desire to emigrate to France, although they make frequent trips there. They have many good reasons for doing so! Just imagine: in 1962, 82,000 of us and, in 1964, about 100,000, could not resist the temptation. (This number will certainly increase, if only because of the cultural arrangements I have already mentioned.) According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canadian tourists spent outside Canada, excluding the United States, \$230 million in 1962 and, it is estimated, nearly \$300 million in 1964, 90 per cent of it in Europe and a third of it in France. (French statistics report only 6.8 million Canadian dollars for 1962; but, as is well known, statistics in this area are difficult to establish — Canadians often, too often, travel with American currency.)

Now we must persuade Frenchmen to visit us. In 1964, 6,430 did so, and about the same number came to us by way of the United States. We do not know how many *francs* they left with us. I imagine that Mr. Cournoyer's tourist services are already at work promoting the "Tour du Québec" in France. The Federal Government Travel Bureau has been represented in Paris since early 1964 by Miss Annette Fortier, who organizes Canadian evenings in Paris and tours in the provinces, gives advice to travelling groups and, last year, even accompanied to Canada the 110 members of the Economic Missions Abroad. If we can capitalize on the traditional popularity of Canada in France and the tremendous tourist attraction of Expo '67, it should be possible to increase considerably the number of visitors from France.

Investments

If the French travel very little to Canada, what about their capital?

From recent developments it would seem that French capitalists are discovering the tremendous potential of Canada, and of Quebec in particular. The publication *External Affairs* was able to suggest, in its issue of last November, even that investments "could very well become the only means to increase trade considerably between our two countries". If you replace the words "only means" by "another important means", you will understand exactly what I have in mind. The exchange of capital, as well as of industrialists, traders, engineers, technicians, soldiers, and even intellectuals, should bring with it, sooner or later, an increase in trade and commerce. It is obvious that, if French capital takes part in establishing an industrial enterprise, the owner will see to it that French equipment is used and that the new firm has access to French markets. And, if Canadian engineers learn to know and respect French technical skills, it is probable that they will increasingly make use of these.

Unfortunately, I have no data valid for the total of French investments in Canada. Pierre-Yves Pépin has made a brief analysis for the period 1950-60 in an excellent series of articles published by "L'Actualité économique" (1963, 1964) concerning what every young man should know about relations between France and Canada. He speaks of the Crédit foncier franco-canadien, the Canadian Liquid Air Co., Labarge Cement of North America Ltd., Poulenc Ltd., the European and Industrial Union, which acquired an interest in the West Canadian Collieries and West Canadian Oil and Gas Limited, the Société nationale des pétroles d'Aquitaine, which set up the Aquitaine Company of Canada, and so on.

Since the splendid lecture given here by Mr. Gérard Filion on November 23, 1964, you are better aware of recent developments in this field; and you know that, owing not only to the activity of the Quebec Government and of Quebec House in Paris but also to the co-operation of the French and Canadian Governments, French investments in Canada are increasing, especially in Quebec: participation by the Banques de Paris et des Pays-Bas in the capital of the Société générale de financement; participation by the Compagnie générale de France in the setting-up of Cegelec, which makes high-voltage circuit-breakers, while the ALSTHOM company (Alsatian Society of Mechanical Construction and Thomson-Houston Group) is making generators for Hydro-Québec; an agreement between the SGF and Peugeot-Renault for the establishment of an assembly plant; French participation in St. Lawrence Fertilizers of Valleyfield and in the construction of the Montreal Metro; possible French participation in SIDBEC, perhaps with capital but more likely with technicians and experts. I also understand that a French-German firm, Alwinal Potash of Canada, is investing \$50 million in a Saskatchewan refinery.

This increased pace should continue as the tremendous Canadian potential becomes better known to French capitalists, especially when the truth is established of a statement by my friend Patrick Hyndman, Counsellor to the Quebec delegation in Paris, to the effect that it is easier to gain access to the American market from Quebec than from Paris.

It may be that the Canadian investments in France are not so well known. The articles of Pierre-Yves Pépin and a recent report in the *Financial Times* give us an idea: Massey-Ferguson owns in France farm-machinery plants; ALCAN is mining bauxite in Provence; Seagram has interests in Mumm champagne, Perrier mineral water and Noilly-Prat vermouth. Mr. Bronfman is also interested in French housing construction; in 1961, Polymer built a synthetic rubber plant in Strasbourg; in 1963, the Toronto Westfield Group acquired a majority of shares of the French Company of Mines and Chemical Products; the Laurentide Financial Corporation has acquired 67 per cent of the interests of Solifrance, a consumer-credit corporation; the Metropolitan Trust of Toronto has become a partner in several European banks.

Progress, therefore, is encouraging in this field too.

Trade

Let us see now if my enthusiasm can survive a brief analysis of trade between France and Canada.

First, let us look at the entire picture. The figures for 1964 are at an all-time high, but, as you know, this is a relative expression. Exports from Canada to France for 1964 amounted to \$79.4 million, 25 percent more than in 1963 and 85 percent more than the yearly average from 1955 to 1964. Imports to Canada from France for 1964 totalled \$62.8 million, 8 percent more than in 1963 and 150 percent more than the average for the past ten years.

Thus, the trade balance has been in Canada's favour by \$16.6 million in 1964. This has always been so (minimum, \$3 million; maximum, \$22.6 million), except in 1959 (— \$13.3 million).

What, briefly, are the details of these exchanges?

Canadian *exports* are wide in range and fluctuating in value. Our wheat exports to France, for example, earned us some \$9 million in 1960-61, \$1 million in 1961-62, \$7 million in 1962-63, \$5 million in 1963-64. We also ship to France synthetic rubber, salmon, asbestos, wood and wood-pulp, copper and aluminum, card-punching machines and computers. The recent trend has been fairly advantageous to our manufactured products — mechanical saws, farm equipment, radar equipment, refrigerators. Our *imports*, which are steadier, are no less wide-ranging. Four-fifths of them are made up of industrial products, the remaining fifth of agricultural products. We import automobiles and parts, books and printed matter, wines, textiles, and steel products.

How does this trade compare with that which Canada has with other industrial countries? France ranks tenth among our buyers . . . after Japan, West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium-Luxembourg; France comes fifth among our suppliers after Britain, Venezuela, Japan and West Germany. This trade with France represents 14 per cent of our sales and 17 per cent of our purchases with the European Economic Community; it represents less than 1 per cent of our world exports and less than 1 per cent of our world imports!

Many reasons have been advanced to explain this meagre level:

- (1) the high level of French self-sufficiency in agriculture and industry — Canadian specialties;
- (2) traditional protectionist French commercial policies towards the dollar area (reference is often made, for example, to the 33 per cent duty on canned salmon, considered a luxury, which competes with tuna, on which only an 11 per cent duty is imposed);
- (3) mention is also made of the orientation of French trade towards the six EEC countries. No one takes exception to this, of course; but it should nevertheless be emphasized that trade among The Six has increased by 23 per cent from 1962 to 1963. Many Canadians fear that the EEC is going to shut its doors on the outside world. There is no important evidence of this for the time being, especially when it is realized that Canadian exports to The Six increased from \$402 million to \$555 million between 1957 and 1964. The success of the “Kennedy round” of negotiations — that is to say, an across-the-board reduction of agricultural and industrial tariffs — would, of course, help to dispel our misgivings.
- (4) Another reason is often mentioned. Jacques Devinat, the helpful Commercial Counsellor of the French Embassy, puts it thus: “The French are only too prone to regard the Canadian market as beyond their reach, and to remember the failures encountered several years ago”. Mr. Filion also has had a few harsh words to say in this respect.

This might explain why the Germans, for instance, manage to sell industrial equipment to Canada without preferential tariff protection, equipment which, I am told, France is making just as efficiently. This line of products represents 22.5 per cent of German and only 2 per cent of French exports.

On the other hand, a few things have also to be said against Canada:

- (1) We are systematically putting all our eggs in one basket. Close to 75 per cent of our trade is with the United States and Britain; this can be explained by geographical as well as historical reasons which I need not labour. Nevertheless, we certainly have not hitherto put enough effort into the diversification of our trade channels. Yet the trade commissioners of the Department of Trade and Commerce operating in France keep calling the attention of Canadian exporters to the possibilities of the French market. A recent article in *Foreign Trade* lists many sales opportunities: chemicals, camping equipment and sporting goods, freezers and refrigerators, communication equipment, toys, etc.
- (2) Our customs tariffs are a steep barrier against French manufacturers, as indeed they are against the products of other countries. Our provincial taxes on wines are enough to give a stroke to French exporters, and to Canadian consumers. (Even the quiet revolution in Quebec does not yet encourage the use of still wines.)

These problems are very real (I need not mention the word “uranium”).

But it would be going too far to speak, as some have, of the non-complementary nature of our two economies. To solve these difficulties, increased effort will have to be made on both sides. And success will often follow. Two recent examples will illustrate this. Mr. Hays announced recently that a quarantine station would be built this year at Grosse Isle to promote the importation of Charolais cattle. In turn, I was told yesterday that France will allow the importation of boneless meat, as well as carcasses. These decisions will undoubtedly please exporters in both countries. Let us attack other restrictions in the same manner.

Defence Production

There is much to be done in matters of defence production and, in fact, new efforts are now in process. Canada recently acquired the French ENTAC anti-tank weapons and SS-11 guided missiles. From January 1961 to September 1964, Canada paid more than \$15 million for military equipment and services in France, compared to less than \$2 million paid by France to Canada. The Department of Transport recently bought an "Alouette" II helicopter for coast-guard patrol and has taken options on two or three others.

A general impression emerges from all this. For a long time, the slow course of our trade has been regarded as inevitable. Nowadays, questions at least are being asked; above all, as I have said, we are ready to use other means, such as investments or the exchange of technicians, to increase our trade.

I have said enough to bring me to my conclusion: France is becoming a fourth pillar of our external policy; cultural exchanges offer almost limitless possibilities; many trade barriers could be lowered through perseverance and goodwill; investments in both directions, which are good in themselves, can also lead to increased commercial activity; Quebec can be, and must be, the intermediary for this increase in cultural and economic exchanges between our two countries. On both sides there are misgivings, and at times isolationist tendencies, to be overcome; but, to the best of my knowledge, our highest hopes are justified.

Canada-U.S. Agreement on Gut Dam Claims

ON MARCH 25, 1965, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, and the United States Ambassador to Canada, His Excellency W. Walton Butterworth, signed an agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States concerning the establishment of an international arbitral tribunal to dispose of United States claims relating to Gut Dam.¹

These claims arose in 1951 and 1952. At that time, there were unusually high water levels on Lake Ontario. Residents of the United States owning real estate on the south shore of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence complained that these levels were attributable in whole or in part to the construction by Canada of a small navigation improvement in the international section of the river, known as Gut Dam.

The construction of Gut Dam had been carried out at the beginning of the century pursuant to arrangements entered into between the Canadian and United States Governments of the day. Gut Dam itself was removed in 1953, as part of the St. Lawrence Seaway construction programme.

The position the Government of Canada has maintained from the first is that there is no basis, either in law or in fact, for these claims. The claimants took their dispute before the courts in the United States, where the suits were rejected on procedural grounds without the courts having gone into their merits.

Concession to U.S. Claimants

Over the years inter-governmental negotiations have been in progress with the United States on an intermittent basis with a view to finding a fair solution. The agreement recently signed represents the successful results of these negotiations. Under its terms, the United States claimants will be afforded the opportunity to have their claims heard and disposed of on their merits. Any award made by the tribunal will be final and binding on both governments. The Government of Canada does not now possess any precise figure on the aggregate amount of these claims, but it is believed that they will run into the millions of dollars.

As provided for in the agreement, the international arbitral tribunal, which will be known as the "Lake Ontario Claims Tribunal United States and Canada", will consist of the chairman and two national members. One national member will be appointed by Canada and the other by the United States; the third member, who will preside over the tribunal as chairman, will be jointly designated by the two governments.

¹A copy of the agreement is appended.

Canadian Claims

There are also on record complaints concerning damage allegedly attributable to Gut Dam from residents of Canada owning real estate on the north shore of Lake Ontario. Claims by Canadians against the Canadian Government will not be considered by the tribunal. However, if its findings make it desirable to do so, the Canadian Government will at that stage consider the establishment of special procedures for Canadian claimants. In the end, Canadian claimants will receive treatment no less favourable than that accorded to United States claimants.

To provide for the possibility that the decisions of the tribunal might indicate that the United States Government had at least a partial legal responsibility in connection with the construction of Gut Dam, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, when signing the agreement, delivered to the United States Ambassador a diplomatic note on this matter. The note states that the Government of Canada reserves its right to espouse claims of Canadian citizens against the United States Government relating to damage allegedly attributable to Gut Dam should the tribunal find the United States Government in some measure legally liable to compensate United States claimants for damage caused by Gut Dam or should any award by the tribunal provide some other basis which would warrant, in the opinion of the Canadian Government, such a course of action.

Diplomatic Note

No. 22

The Secretary of State for External Affairs presents his compliments to His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America and has the honour to refer to the Agreement they signed today on behalf of their Governments concerning the establishment of an international arbitral Tribunal to dispose of United States claims relating to the construction and maintenance of a navigation improvement dam in the international section of the St. Lawrence River known as "Gut Dam".

The Secretary of State for External Affairs wishes to state that the Government of Canada expressly reserves its right to espouse claims of Canadian citizens against the Government of the United States of America with respect to damage to property allegedly attributable to Gut Dam should the Tribunal to be established under the terms of the Agreement find that the U.S. Government is in some measure legally liable to compensate its own citizens for damage caused by Gut Dam or should any award by the Tribunal provide some other basis which would warrant, in the opinion of the Government of Canada, such a course of action being followed.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Ambassador of the United States of America the assurances of his highest consideration.

P.M.

Ottawa, March 25, 1965.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL TO DISPOSE OF UNITED STATES CLAIMS RELATING TO GUT DAM.

The GOVERNMENT of CANADA and the GOVERNMENT of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Considering that claims have been made by nationals of the United States of America against the Government of Canada alleging that their property in the United States has suffered damage or detriment as a result of high water levels in Lake Ontario or the St. Lawrence River;

Considering that these claimants have alleged further that the damage or detriment was attributable in whole or in part to the construction and maintenance of a dam in the international section of the St. Lawrence River known as and hereinafter referred to as "Gut Dam" and have claimed compensation for such damage or detriment from the Government of Canada; and

Considering that in the special circumstances associated with these claims the need arises to establish an international arbitral tribunal to hear and dispose of these claims in a final fashion,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

1. An international arbitral tribunal, which shall be known as the Lake Ontario Claims Tribunal United States and Canada, hereinafter referred to as "the Tribunal", is hereby established for the purpose of hearing and finally disposing of claims of nationals of the United States of America including juridical persons that are presented to the Tribunal in accordance with the terms of this Agreement.

2. The Tribunal shall consist of the Chairman and two national members. One national member shall be appointed by the Government of Canada within two months after this Agreement enters into force; the other national member shall be appointed by the Government of the United States of America within the same period; a third member, who shall preside over the Tribunal as Chairman, shall be designated jointly by the two Governments within three months after this Agreement enters into force. If the third member has not been designated within three months after this Agreement enters into force, either Party to this Agreement may request the President of the International Court of Justice to designate such third member. In the event of the inability of any member of the Tribunal to serve, or in the event of a member failing to act as such, his successor shall be chosen in accordance with the same procedure and within the same time limits provided herein for the selection of his predecessor.

3. Each member of the Tribunal shall have one vote. Every decision of the Tribunal shall be reached by a majority vote and shall constitute a full and final determination of the subject matter of the decision.

4. Each member of the Tribunal shall be a judge or a lawyer competent to hold high judicial office in his national State. No member prior to his appointment shall have been associated directly or indirectly with any matter relating to this Agreement.

5. Each member of the Tribunal, before entering upon his duties, shall make and subscribe to a solemn declaration before the Joint Secretaries of the Tribunal stating

that he will carefully and impartially examine and decide according to his best judgment and in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement all matters presented for his decision. A duplicate of every such declaration shall be filed with each of the Joint Secretaries of the Tribunal.

ARTICLE II

1. The Tribunal shall have jurisdiction to hear and decide in a final fashion each claim presented to it in accordance with the terms of this Agreement. Each decision of the Tribunal shall be based on its determination of any one or more of the following questions on the basis of the legal principles set forth in this Article:

- (a) Was the construction and maintenance of Gut Dam the proximate cause of damage or detriment to the property that is the subject of such claim?
- (b) If the construction and maintenance of Gut Dam was the proximate cause of damage or detriment to such property, what was the nature and extent of damage caused?
- (c) Does there exist any legal liability to pay compensation for any damage or detriment caused by the construction and maintenance of Gut Dam to such property?
- (d) If there exists a legal liability to pay compensation for any damage or detriment caused by the construction and maintenance of Gut Dam to such property, what is the nature and extent of such damage and what amount of compensation in terms of United States dollars should be paid therefor and by whom?

2. The Tribunal shall determine any legal liability issue arising under paragraph 1 of this Article in accordance with the following provisions:

- (a) The Tribunal shall apply the substantive law in force in Canada and in the United States of America (exclusive, however, of any laws limiting the time within which any legal suit with respect to any claim is required to be instituted) to all the facts and circumstances surrounding the construction and maintenance of Gut Dam including all the documents passing between Governments concerning the construction of the dam and other relevant documents.
- (b) In this Article the law in force in Canada and the United States of America respectively includes international law.
- (c) No claim shall be disallowed or rejected by the Tribunal through the application of the general principle of international law that legal remedies must be exhausted as a condition precedent to the validity or allowance of any claim.

3. In the event that in the opinion of the Tribunal there exists such a divergence between the relevant substantive law in force in Canada and in the United States of America that it is not possible to make a final decision with regard to any particular claim as provided by this Article, the Tribunal shall apply such of the legal principles set forth in paragraph 2 as it considers appropriate, having regard to the desire of the Parties hereto to reach a solution just to all interests concerned.

4. The Tribunal shall not have jurisdiction over any claim presented under this Agreement unless the claim is accompanied by an undertaking, signed by the claimant in a form that is valid and binding under Canadian and United States law on any such claimant and his successors and assigns and indicating that he

- (a) accepts the decision of the Tribunal as final and binding with respect to the matters to which it relates, and
- (b) waives any right he may have to proceed against the Government of Canada otherwise than in a manner consistent with the terms of this Agreement.

5. Nothing in this article shall be deemed to prevent the Tribunal from making any general finding or findings with respect to all claims submitted to it, or any particular category of claims submitted to it.

ARTICLE III

1. Any claim presented to the Tribunal under the terms of this Agreement shall be considered and dealt with exclusively in accordance with the procedures set out in this Agreement.

2. The Government of the United States of America shall take such action as may be necessary to ensure that the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States shall discontinue its investigation and determination of all claims relating to Gut Dam.

ARTICLE IV

1. Each Government shall appoint a Secretary of the Tribunal. The persons so appointed shall act as Joint Secretaries of the Tribunal and shall be subject to its instructions.

2. The Tribunal may appoint such other persons, including engineers, as are considered necessary to assist in the performance of its duties, on such terms and conditions as the Tribunal may see fit, subject only to the availability of funds provided by the two Governments for the expenses of the Tribunal.

ARTICLE V

The Tribunal shall meet at such times and places as may be agreed upon by the members of the Tribunal, subject to instructions of the two Governments.

ARTICLE VI

The Tribunal shall, with the concurrence of the two Governments, adopt such rules for its proceedings as may be deemed expedient and necessary, but no such rule shall contravene any of the provisions of this Agreement. The rules shall be designed to expedite the determination of claims.

ARTICLE VII

1. Within 90 days after this Agreement enters into force, the Government of the United States of America shall file with the Joint Secretaries of the Tribunal three copies of the claim of each national of the United States of America alleging damage or detriment caused by the construction and maintenance of Gut Dam that it is submitting for adjudication. It shall also within the same period transmit three copies of each such claim to the Government of Canada. The claims shall be accompanied by

all of the evidence on which the Government of the United States of America intends to rely.

2. Within 120 days after the receipt of each claim by the Government of Canada, in accordance with the terms of paragraph 1 of this Article, the Government of Canada shall file with the Joint Secretaries of the Tribunal three copies of the answer it is submitting with respect to such claim. It shall also within the same period transmit three copies of each such answer to the Government of the United States of America. The answer shall be accompanied by all of the evidence on which the Government of Canada intends to rely.

3. Within such time as may be prescribed by the rules adopted by the Tribunal:

- (a) The Government of the United States of America shall file with the Joint Secretaries of the Tribunal three copies of a brief with reference to the construction and maintenance of Gut Dam and to any damage or detriment caused thereby and three copies of all briefs being submitted in support of the claims;
- (b) the Government of the United States of America shall transmit three copies of each such brief to the Government of Canada; and
- (c) the Government of Canada shall file with the Joint Secretaries of the Tribunal three copies of one or more briefs in reply to the briefs of the Government of the United States of America and transmit three copies of the brief or briefs of the Government of Canada as so filed to the Government of the United States of America.

With the briefs each Government may submit evidence to rebut evidence submitted by the other Government.

4. No other pleadings or other briefs may be submitted by either Government except at the request of or with the approval of the Tribunal.

ARTICLE VIII

1. Each Government shall designate an Agent who shall present to the Tribunal all the pleadings, evidence, briefs and arguments of his Government with respect to any claim filed with the Tribunal in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement. To assist the Agent, each Government may employ or appoint such counsel, engineers, investigators and other persons as it may desire.

2. All individual claims shall be presented to the Tribunal through the Agent of the Government of the United States of America.

ARTICLE IX

Whenever under the terms of this Agreement the approval or other form of instructions of Governments is required, such approval or other form of instructions shall be communicated by the Agent of such Government. All other communications required to be made to or by either Government under the terms of this Agreement shall be channeled through its Agent.

ARTICLE X

The Governments shall make all reasonable efforts to ensure that the members

of the Tribunal, Agents, counsel and other appropriate persons shall be permitted at all reasonable times to enter and view and carry on investigations upon any of the property covered by any claim presented under the terms of this Agreement.

ARTICLE XI

The Tribunal shall keep accurate permanent records of all its proceedings.

ARTICLE XII

1. The Tribunal shall in an expeditious manner render decisions on the matters referred to it and shall from time to time make such interim records as are requested by the two Governments or as the Tribunal deems advisable.
2. The Tribunal shall submit to the Agents a copy of each decision when rendered. Each such decision shall be supported by reasons in writing and shall be accompanied by a copy of the record of all the proceedings maintained in relation to the hearing of the claim with which the decision is concerned.
3. A minority member may report a dissenting opinion in writing, which shall accompany any decision of the Tribunal submitted under the provisions of paragraph 2 of this Article to the Agents.
4. The decisions of the majority of the members of the Tribunal shall be the decisions of the Tribunal and shall be accepted as final and binding by the two Governments.

ARTICLE XIII

Awards of the Tribunal shall be entered in United States dollars. Every award made by the Tribunal shall be paid in United States dollars within one year from the date the Tribunal submits the decision to which the award relates to the two Governments in accordance with the provisions of Article XII.

ARTICLE XIV

The Tribunal shall determine and render decisions on all claims submitted to it within a period of two years from the date of the first meeting of the Tribunal, unless the two Governments agree to extend the period.

ARTICLE XV

Each Government shall defray the expenses incurred by it in the presentation of claims, pleadings, evidence and arguments to the Tribunal and shall pay the salary of its national member. All other expenses of the Tribunal, including the honorarium of the Chairman of the Tribunal, which shall be fixed by agreement of the two Governments, shall be defrayed in equal portions by the two Governments.

ARTICLE XVI

1. This Agreement shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible.

2. This Agreement shall enter into force on the day of exchange of the instruments of ratification.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Agreement.

DONE IN DUPLICATE AT OTTAWA, this twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand nine hundred sixty-five.

For the Government of Canada
PAUL MARTIN

For the Government of the United States of America
W. WALTON BUTTERWORTH



CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO JORDAN

Mr. J. R. Maybee, the new Canadian Ambassador to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, is shown presenting his credentials to His Majesty King Hussein. Also attending the ceremony are (left to right): Sharif Hussein Ben Nasser, Chief of the Royal Court, and Mr. Z. Hindawi, Acting Foreign Minister.



AMBASSADOR OF NIGER INSTALLED

On April 1, 1965, His Excellency Ary Tanimoune presented his letters of credence to Governor-General Vanier as Ambassador of the Republic of Niger to Canada. Shown in the above picture, taken at the ceremony, are (left to right): Mr. Ary Tanimoune; Mr. Illa Salifou, First Secretary of the Embassy; Colonel A. G. Cherrier, Assistant-Secretary to the Governor General; Mr. Esmond Butler, Secretary to the Governor General; and Governor-General Vanier.

External Affairs in Parliament

Speech From The Throne

The following passages from the Speech from the Throne opening the third session of the Twenty-Sixth Parliament on April 5 deal with Canada's external relations:

. . . The international situation gives ground for concern. The stability of Southeast Asia is threatened by a deepening crisis in Vietnam and continued pressures on Malaysia. The United Nations is beset by conflicting political pressures which have seriously impaired its capacity for executive action. The continuance of these situations, and of the policies that have given rise to them, would create serious risks of widening conflict.

My Government is resolved that Canada shall make the fullest contribution it can to the lessening of international tensions, including the provision of practical assistance to developing countries. In the forthcoming negotiations on the United Nations crisis, the objective of my Ministers will be to contribute to the work of repairing and strengthening the United Nations in order that it may play its proper role in the preservation of world peace and security. My Government will press forward its efforts to assure effective international action for peace keeping and to move towards general disarmament under effective international control. Canada will continue meantime to play its full part in the strengthening of collective defence and in the close collaboration of NATO members on both sides of the Atlantic.

My Government will continue to contribute to the development of the Commonwealth ties, which are of major importance to the free world and to the improvement of relations between the continents. My Prime Minister will attend the forthcoming Conference of Commonwealth prime ministers, which will discuss, among other things, the expansion of trade and the establishment of a Commonwealth secretariat.

My Ministers attach great importance to Canada's neighbourly relationship with the United States and to the development of practical, mutually beneficial arrangements within that relationship. You will be asked to approve a resolution concerning the important agreement on the automobile industry recently concluded with the United States. . . .

. . . You will be asked to approve the establishment of a Company of Young Canadians, through which the energies and talents of youth can be enlisted in projects for economic and social development both in Canada and abroad. . . .

Crisis in Vietnam

Asked on April 2 whether he was "in a position to advise the House if it is a fact that the British Government has sent a message to the Geneva Powers asking for their views as to the conditions which should be laid down as a basis for the convening of a conference" (on the Vietnam situation) and "what will Canada's views be in that connection", the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, replied as follows:

. . . I have received, only a short time ago, a note from the British Foreign Secretary, on behalf of his Government, one of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Powers, asking Canada, as a member of the International Control and Supervisory Commission, along with its two colleague states and the original members of the Geneva Conference, for a statement as to the views of the Government with regard to what conditions we believe should be considered precedent to the calling of a conference on Vietnam.

I just received the note a short time before coming into the House, and I would not want to give a precise reply until I have had a full opportunity of considering the matter. But I would like to say, without anticipating the details of the reply the Government will make, that our views have been stated, beginning with those expressed by the Prime Minister on February 10 when he said the Government was of the view that there should be a cease-fire on all sides. As I have repeatedly said, we think that military means are not enough to bring about a solution, and that a conference is necessary.

However, I have had to point out that, before a conference could be held, there would have to be a disposition for this on all sides, and there is no evidence at the moment of any agreement or disposition on the part of North Vietnam to the holding of such conference.

Perhaps at this juncture I might just throw out what I suggested a week ago, that if there is no agreement with regard to the holding of a conference on Vietnam, the time may have arrived when we could give consideration to a conference on the problems facing Laos. The members of that conference would be the same member states that would attend a conference on Vietnam. . . .

To an inquiry on April 27 whether the Canadian Government had "been consulted about the proposal of the British Government and the Government of the U.S.S.R. regarding a conference on Cambodia with a view to such a conference eventually turning its attention to a solution of the Vietnam situation", Mr. Martin replied:

. . . The proposal was not made by the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union but originally by the Cambodian Government. It was a suggestion that a conference on Cambodia's neutrality and territorial integrity might take place and might be used as an occasion for what are called corridor discussions on the situation in Vietnam. The Canadian Government would be willing to give support to this

proposal, and support has now been assured by the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and other parties.

However, Prince Sihanouk, who had first suggested the holding of this conference, has since indicated that he would not be willing to have the conference unless it were restricted entirely to a discussion of Cambodian and Vietnam affairs. There may be certain developments in connection with his observations in this connection; we shall have to wait to see the consequences.

To the further question whether Canada, as a member of the International Truce Commission, "has been invited to sit in at such a conference in the event it is held", the Minister explained:

Canada has not been invited. This will be a conference made up of the original Geneva Powers. However, if the procedure of 1962 were to be followed, it could be that the members of the Supervisory Commission — Canada, Poland and India — might be invited. No such invitation has been put forward as yet.

Questions asked on April 30 as to "whether there have been any discussions among the United States, Canada and other countries regarding a request for aid either in the form of equipment or supervisory service personnel for South Vietnam" and "whether Canada was aware of the intention of the Commonwealth of Australia to send a battalion into that area before that announcement was made", as well as whether there had been any discussion "among Commonwealth countries regarding contributions from other parts of the Commonwealth", elicited the following response from Mr. Martin:

. . . There have been no discussions among Commonwealth countries as such regarding contributions by the Commonwealth or by individual members of the Commonwealth to Vietnam. Shortly before the announcement by Mr. Menzies in the Australian Parliament, the Government of Canada was made aware of the intention of his Government to dispatch a battalion to Vietnam. The decision taken by Australia is taken in the context of the fact that Australia is a member of SEATO and has, of course, an understandable immediate interest because of the fact that the regrettable situation in Vietnam is taking place in Asia itself.

To a further inquiry if there had been "any suggestion that Canada should supply or make available munitions or materials", the Minister answered:

. . . There has been no suggestion made to Canada that I am aware of that we should provide military equipment or personnel. We are extending a substantial amount of external aid to Vietnam. We increased our external aid to Vietnam within the course of the last six months when we agreed to make an additional half a million dollars available to Vietnam for external aid purposes. . . .

On April 30, Mr. Martin tabled the text of his reply of April 27 to the message on Vietnam received on April 2 from the Right Honourable Michael Stewart,

the British Foreign Secretary, acting in his capacity as one of the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina. The exchange of messages follows:

Message from Mr. Stewart

The British Co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina has noted with grave concern the dangerous state of international tension now existing in connection with Vietnam. Accordingly, he invites the governments members of the 1954 Conference and the governments represented on the International Control Commission to furnish him with a statement of their views of the situation in Vietnam and, in particular, on the circumstances in which they consider that a peaceful settlement could be reached.

The British Co-Chairman also hopes that the forthcoming visit of his special representative, Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, to Southeast Asia will afford the governments of the countries he will visit an opportunity for further discussion of their views on this problem.

Reply by Mr. Martin

In his message of April 2, the British Foreign Secretary, acting in his capacity as one of the two Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina, has invited the Government of Canada, as a member of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, to furnish a statement of its views on the situation in Vietnam and on the circumstances in which the Canadian Government believes that a peaceful settlement could be reached.

The Canadian Government welcomes this initiative on the part of the British Co-Chairman and the opportunity which it provides for the Canadian Government to outline its views on these critical problems. The Canadian Government fully shares the British Co-Chairman's attitude of grave concern over the dangerous state of international tension now existing in connection with Vietnam and wishes to express its willingness to support any promising initiative which shows signs of contributing usefully to a lessening of tension and a resolution of the problems underlying these tensions.

The Canadian Government believes that, if there had been a strict adherence to the Geneva Cease-Fire Agreement of 1954, the dangerous situation confronting the world today would not have come about. Unfortunately, this has not been the case and the usefulness of the 1954 Agreement as a basis for the regulation of developments in Vietnam has been slowly eroded by violations on all sides. As a member of the International Commission for Supervision and Control, Canada has been directly aware of the increasing dangers produced by departures from the terms of that Agreement.

In its special report of June 2, 1962, the International Commission drew attention to violations of the Agreement by North Vietnam in supporting, organizing and carrying out hostile activities against the armed forces and administration

of South Vietnam and in allowing its territory to be used for inciting, encouraging and supporting hostile activities in South Vietnam aimed at the overthrow of the South Vietnamese administration. This same report also drew attention to the fact that South Vietnam had requested and been given military aid by the United States in quantities which were greater than those permitted by the Geneva Agreement and that a *de facto* but not a formal military alliance had been concluded by the two countries. In this latter connection, the report noted the South Vietnamese Government's explanation that these measures of military assistance were necessitated by the aggressive policies being conducted by North Vietnam, that they were undertaken in the exercise of the right of self-defence reserved to all states and, finally, that they could end as soon as the North Vietnamese authorities had ceased their acts of aggression against South Vietnam.

Again, in February of 1965, the International Commission presented another special report to which the Canadian delegation appended by way of supplement a minority statement which it considered essential to convey a balanced account of the situation in Vietnam. The Canadian statement, when read in the context of the February 13 report as a whole, indicated that the situation in Vietnam, as the evidence before the International Commission shows, continues to be marked, on an increasing scale, by hostile Northern intervention in South Vietnam, in response to which South Vietnam and its allies have felt compelled to take retaliatory action.

These basic elements in the situation must be taken into account and brought into sharp focus if the problem of indirect aggression as manifested in South Vietnam under the guise of support for a so-called "war of liberation" is to be clearly understood and dealt with.

The Canadian Government believes that aggression, direct or indirect, cannot be tolerated. It must not only be outlawed by the international community but checked and shown to be unprofitable. At the same time, the Canadian Government recognizes that the continuation of hostilities involves a risk of further escalation and wider involvement.

For this reason, the Canadian Government has repeatedly appealed for the exercise of restraint in the present circumstances of mounting tension and danger. These appeals have been directed to all concerned, and the Canadian Government hopes that all other powers with a special interest in the situation and with special relations with any of the parties directly involved in the conflict will attempt to exert such influence as they may be able to exercise to this same end.

The Canadian Government believes that an exclusively military solution to the problem of Vietnam is not possible. The circumstances now existing indicate that a truly satisfactory solution can be found only by negotiations leading to a fair, just and workable settlement. This settlement must not sacrifice essential principles such as the right of all peoples to choose their own path of political and economic development free from outside interference or the fear of aggression, direct or indirect.

The immediate problem in the view of the Canadian Government is how to bring about negotiations which look to an early and peaceful settlement.

The Canadian Government's initial and favourable reaction to the broad outlines and purposes of the appeal of the 17-nation group, which called for negotiations as soon as possible without preconditions, was announced in the House of Commons on April 1 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs. In this connection, the Canadian Government welcomed the subsequent offer by the President of the United States to enter into unconditional discussions with other interested governments. It must be a source of deep anxiety to all that initial reactions in Hanoi appear to have been negative. The Canadian Government hopes that this negative response is of a preliminary nature only and that, on further reflection, a more favourable decision will be reached; to this end the Canadian Government has expressed the hope that the efforts of all interested parties will be devoted to urging that these initial and negative reactions be reconsidered. This is a task of the first and most pressing priority, as indicated in the Canadian Government's reply of April 14 to the 17 nations' appeal, a copy of which is attached.¹

If, however, despite the pleas of peace-loving nations in all regions of the world, the Hanoi authorities refuse to take up the offer of the United States as it applies immediately to Vietnam, the possibility of exploring whether there is any common ground whatever on Vietnam might be provided by encouraging discussions looking towards the settlement of another, and related, dispute, such as that in Laos, or through discussion of development programmes which, by establishing contacts in one field, might make possible discussions leading to the solution of the more acute problem of Vietnam.

Either in addition or as an alternative, such exploratory and reciprocal contacts might be conducted through any or all of the existing bilateral channels which are available, provided that both sides wish to avail themselves of them. Although neither North Vietnam nor Communist China is a member of the United Nations, it is not inconceivable that the Secretary-General of that organization, because of his position and personal prestige, might be able to play a useful role in this connection.

It is, of course, evident that the essential element in any forward step is a desire to negotiate on the part of the governments directly involved in the dispute, regardless of where or how those negotiations begin. But it is equally evident that, behind the Vietnam problem but by no means unrelated to it, is the whole question of relations between China and the rest of the world community. Fostering the desire to negotiate could be encouraged by, just as it could encourage, the beginning of a move towards mutual acceptance and greater contact between China and the rest of the world community. An improvement in this wider area may prove necessary in order to bring about the sort of long-term settlement

¹See Page 199

which is desirable. Conversely, if progress on this broader problem is not possible in the near future, a settlement in Vietnam could be a significant contribution to its eventual achievement.

Reference has already been made to the need to understand the facts before a solution can be found. In South Vietnam, outside pressure and interference have taken a military form on both sides, and before any genuine peace and stability can return to Vietnam, these must be subdued and progressively eliminated in a balanced manner. Arranging this process should be a task of first priority for any discussions which may be initiated to deal with these problems.

To ensure that measures agreed to and obligations undertaken in negotiations are carried out and honestly kept, it would probably prove desirable to build some form of international control mechanism into the terms of the settlement, not only to maintain reciprocal confidence between the parties in their obligations to each other but also as an effective demonstration of the interest of the international community in guaranteeing the durability of any settlement in which they would, in a sense, be direct participants. An effective international control and guarantee organization, whatever its composition and sponsorship, would have to be given sufficient backing to enable it to ensure that military interference could be genuinely eliminated and not simply temporarily concealed, and that expressions of political choice were not subject to coercion.

The perspective opened up by a period of tranquillity in which the people concerned would be assured that efforts to solve their problems would not be eroded by coercive intervention and political subversion, would have considerable attraction for all members of the international community. The Canadian Government, like the U.S. Government, believes that the development potential of the Mekong River and its immediately contiguous areas offers possibilities for exploitation which could be richly rewarding for the people of that area. An imaginative programme for the exploitation of these and other resources and their utilization to bring a more prosperous way of life to the people of the region could be readily devised and would no doubt call forth a generous response from all countries able to contribute. The President of the United States has already indicated the sweeping and generous scope of the extent to which the U.S.A. is prepared to contribute. The Canadian Government has also expressed its willingness to participate in an appropriate way. Significant, if limited, progress has already been made in this direction but, in the light of the interest which this imaginative proposal has created already, it should be possible to expand the scope of existing arrangements in terms of participants and beneficiaries as well as the projects undertaken.

Not only are the benefits which a regional development scheme such as this could bestow attractive but so too might be the benefits accruing from the gradual development of economic and other exchanges between the component units of the region as arranged bilaterally or within the scope of a wider development scheme.

It is, however, difficult to see how these possibilities could be adequately realized as long as hostilities continue in the area.

A cessation of hostilities thus seems to be the basic requirement for any progress towards either a negotiated and durable political settlement or a development scheme; far from being mutually exclusive, these two avenues — if a first step could be taken — would complement and reinforce each other and progress in one sphere could very easily stimulate or facilitate progress in the other. Both are aspects of the same geographical and political realities and, in the view of the Canadian Government, they merit the earnest consideration of all governments who wish no more for that troubled area than that its people may enjoy enduring peace under institutions which they themselves have chosen as best calculated to ensure a brighter and more prosperous future.

Canadian Reply to 17-Nation Appeal

The Canadian Government has given careful consideration to the 17-nation appeal officially presented to it on April 1.

The Canadian Government welcomes the spirit in which this appeal has been launched and commends the sponsoring nations for their initiative, which reflects the anxiety of all responsible nations of the world over the deepening crisis in Vietnam and their concern for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

In a statement to the House of Commons on April 1, the Secretary of State for External Affairs stated that there was much in the appeal with which the Canadian Government could agree. In particular, Canada shares with the sponsoring powers the belief that only through negotiations looking to a peaceful solution can the conflict in Vietnam be terminated; and Canada supports the call of the 17 powers for negotiations as soon as possible without either side imposing any preconditions.

The Canadian Government's view of the nature of the situation in Vietnam is, of course, based on Canada's membership in the ICSC, which provides an opportunity at first hand to examine the various factors contributing to this unstable situation. The conclusions to which Canada has come on the basis of this experience have most recently been put before the international community in the Commission's special reports of June 2, 1962, and February 13, 1965, and in various statements on behalf of the Canadian Government by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs. While the appeal notes that there may be differences in appraising the various elements in the existing situation in Vietnam, there can be no doubt about the importance which Canada attaches to a renewed effort to solve the problems manifested in the Vietnam situation by negotiations undertaken in a genuine determination to achieve a mutually acceptable, just, and durable settlement.

The Canadian Government has noted the willingness expressed by the President of the United States on April 7 to enter into unconditional discussions look-

ing to a peaceful solution. This offer is of great significance, and will no doubt be as gratifying to the sponsors of the appeal as it has been to the Canadian Government. This offer, and suggestions for a vast regional economic development scheme for Southeast Asia, provide grounds for hope that progress may be made towards solving outstanding problems in a peaceful and constructive context.

Discussions or negotiations, however, require a willingness on both sides to participate. The Canadian Government earnestly hopes, therefore, that all the other interested governments will respond affirmatively to the appeal as a demonstration of their concern for peace, and that they will not hesitate to take up the offer of unconditional discussions made by the President of the United States. The Canadian Government also hopes that the sponsors of the appeal will not be discouraged by indications of preliminary unsympathetic responses from some quarters and will continue their efforts to impress on those concerned the need for a beginning to be made on talks without preconditions. To such an effort, the Canadian Government gladly lends its support.

Military Aid to Tanzania

On April 6, in reply to a question asked about a week earlier, Mr. Martin made the following statement:

. . . In response to a request from the Government of Tanzania, the Canadian Government has stated its willingness to co-operate with the Government of that country in an air-force equipment and training programme. The establishment of an air-transport wing, by providing increased mobility, will complement the advisory and training assistance Canada is already extending to the Tanzanian army. The assurance of stability, which depends in part on adequately trained and equipped security forces, is a prerequisite to sound economic and social development.

A Canadian survey team will be sent in a fortnight to examine, in consultation with the Tanzanian authorities and in the light of Canadian capabilities, how Canada can best assist in this matter. The detailed programme to be agreed on between the two governments will be based on the team's findings. The Canadian Government welcomes this further development in the friendly relations between our two Commonwealth countries. . . .

Question of Rhodesian Independence

On April 30, the Minister gave the following answer to a question on "Canada's attitude toward Rhodesian independence and the discussions with respect thereto":

. . . The Government has made clear on a number of occasions our view that a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Government would be a deplorable act, which would lead to very serious economic and internal political difficulties in Rhodesia. Moreover, we think the repercussions throughout Africa, particularly on race relations, might be serious. We have conveyed our views to the Rhodesian Government. We earnestly hope that the Southern Rhodesian Government will take no such action. We have, of course, paid particular attention to the statement made yesterday in the British House of Commons.

In his statement in this House on July 17, 1964, following the Commonwealth prime ministers' meeting, the Prime Minister indicated that Canada would not recognize the validity of a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Government. If such a declaration took place, we would have to consider other measures, in consultation with other Commonwealth governments.

I should, however, add that negotiations on independence between the British and Rhodesian Governments are still going on. I hope they will eventually result in agreement on a programme which will lead to independence for Rhodesia within the Commonwealth, in the words of the communiqué issued by the prime ministers' conference, "at the earliest practical time on the basis of majority rule".

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- United Nations Statistical Commission: New York, April 20 - May 10
- Commonwealth Telecommunications Conference: London, April 26 - May 13
- World Health Organization Assembly: Geneva, May 4 - 21
- NATO Ministerial Meeting: London, May 11 - 13
- NATO Defence Ministers' Meeting: Paris, May 31 - June 1
- International Labour Conference 49th Session: Geneva, June 2 - 25
- OECD Ministers of Agriculture: Paris, June 17 - 18
- International Civil Aviation Organization Assembly, 15th Session: Montreal, June 22 - July 19
- Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference: London, June 17 - 25
- Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH), 8th General Assembly: Guatemala, June 25 - July 10
- Economic and Social Council, 39th Session: Geneva, June 30 - July 30
- 3rd UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders: Stockholm, August 9 - 18
- International Telecommunications Union Plenipotentiary Conference: Montreux, September 14 for nine weeks.
- Ninth General Conference of International Atomic Energy Agency: Tokyo, September 20 - 30
-

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. P. Richer-Lafleche appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Deputy Chief of Protocol effective March 1, 1965.
- Mr. D. Stansfield posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, to the Canadian Military Mission, Berlin, effective March 5, 1965.
- Mr. J. J. H. Corbeil appointed to the Department of External Affairs as FSO 1 effective March 8, 1965.
- Mr. E. C. Latour posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, effective March 15, 1965.
- Mr. F. E. K. Chandler posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to the Canadian Consulate General, Marseilles, effective March 15, 1965.
- Mr. G. C. Vernon posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santiago, effective March 16, 1965.
- Mr. E. W. T. Gill appointed Canadian Ambassador to Ireland, effective March 23, 1965.
- Mr. N. Haffey posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, effective March 27, 1965.

- Mr. G. T. T. Trotman appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Solicitor 2, effective March 31, 1965.
- Mr. R. W. Nadeau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Marseille, effective April 1, 1965.
- Mr. G. Plamondon appointed to the Department of External Affairs as FSO 1, effective April 1, 1965.
- Mr. B. M. Mawhinney appointed to the Department of External Affairs as FSO 1, effective April 1, 1965.
- Mr. J. E. Hyndman posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective April 7, 1965.
- Mr. J. Y. Grenon posted from the Canadian Embassy, Santiago, to the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, effective April 11, 1965.
- Mr. J. H. Vincent posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kingston, to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective April 12, 1965.
- Mr. R. M. Robinson posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, effective April 20, 1965.
-

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Bulgaria

Trade Agreement between Canada and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Signed at Ottawa, October 8, 1963.

Entered into force provisionally October 8, 1963.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Sofia April 5, 1965.

Entered into force definitively April 5, 1965.

Netherlands

Supplementary Convention further modifying the Convention between Canada and the Kingdom of the Netherlands for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income, signed at Ottawa on April 2, 1957.

Signed at Ottawa February 3, 1965.

United States of America

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the establishment of an international arbitral tribunal to dispose of United States claims relating to Gut Dam.

Signed at Ottawa March 25, 1965.

Multilateral

Protocol Amending the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to introduce a Part IV on Trade and Development.

Signed by Canada February 8, 1965.

Agreement between the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty for co-operation regarding atomic information.

Signed by Canada June 30, 1964.

Entered into force March 12, 1965.

Constitution of the International Labour Organization Instrument of Amendment (No. 1), 1964, adopted by the Conference at its forty-eighth session, Geneva, July 6, 1964.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited March 15, 1965.

Constitution of the International Labour Organization Instrument of Amendment (No. 3), 1964, adopted by the Conference at its forty-eighth session, Geneva, July 9, 1964.

Procès-verbal extending the Declaration on the Provisional Accession of Tunisia to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Done at Geneva December 12, 1963.

Signed by Canada April 15, 1965.

Declaration on the Provisional Accession of Iceland to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Done at Geneva March 5, 1964.

Signed by Canada April 15, 1965.

Protocol for the Extension of the International Wheat Agreement, 1962.

Done at Washington March 22, 1965.

Signed by Canada April 22, 1965.

Publication

Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 21. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning a co-operative programme for the establishment and operation of a command and data acquisition station in Canada to serve an operational meteorological satellite system being established by the United States (NIMBUS). Ottawa December 28, 1962. Entered into force December 28, 1962.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 4. Air Transport Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States. Signed at Mexico City D.F., December 21, 1961. Entered into force provisionally December 21, 1961. Entered into force definitively February 21, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 6. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America constituting an Agreement on international satellites for ionospheric studies (ISIS) (with a Memorandum of Understanding). Ottawa May 6, 1964. Entered into force May 6, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 7. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America amending the Agreement of September 27, 1961, relating to the Continental Air Defence System by cancelling the proposed gap-filler radar programme. Ottawa May 6, 1964. Entered into force May 6, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 8. The Indus Basin Development Fund (Supplemental) Agreement, 1964. Done at Washington March 31, 1964. Signed by Canada April 6, 1964. Entered into force April 6, 1964.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII No. 6

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Vietnam

The crisis in Vietnam continues to be a subject of concern throughout the world. A selection follows of the full texts of or extracts from recent statements of government policy by Norwegian, Belgian, Australian and New Zealand statesmen:

EXCERPT FROM A STATEMENT BY FOREIGN MINISTER LANGE OF NORWAY
IN THE STORTING ON APRIL 1, 1965:

It is a regrettable fact that the United Nations is not at all in the picture as regards the war in Vietnam. The Government in North Vietnam has, with the support of Peking, declared that it does not recognize the United Nations' competence to deal with the conflict. It is not conducive to facilitating the peace efforts that the comprehensive contact apparatus and negotiation machinery represented by the United Nations must here remain idle. It also strongly limits our own chances of contacts with the parties and information about developments.

Let it be said at once that the American bombing attacks against targets in North Vietnam cause deep concern and anxiety. The seriousness will increase the longer the attacks continue and the greater their scope becomes.

The use of gas has also caused concern in world opinion. It inevitably brings back memories of the horrors of the First World War. Even though this is gas of different and much more harmless types than those one associates with the phrase "gas warfare", the very use of gas during operations of war is a questionable thing, both because, in this sphere too, there is a risk of a chain reaction which may result in the employment of war gas proper, and because it may set a dangerous precedent.

Having said this, we cannot disregard the dangerous situation in which the Americans find themselves. It is quite clear that the American war aid to South Vietnam is given at the request of and on the basis of agreements with the government in Saigon. On that point there has been no difference between the changing governments in South Vietnam.

The actions of war in South Vietnam are not merely an internal conflict, but also an aggression from without — from North Vietnam. This aggression is carried out, not as an open attack but, so far as it is possible, covertly. But that it has been going on for a long time and on an increasing scale nobody seriously denies.

This policy on the part of North Vietnam is in harmony with the Communist theory that so-called national liberation wars are "just wars", deserving of support.

This is a dangerous theory. It aims at justifying interventions with military force in the internal affairs of other countries entirely outside the United Nations

and without foundation in any resolution under the United Nations Charter.

That there is little stability and strong internal strife in South Vietnam everybody knows. This, incidentally, is not unknown in many countries in other continents that are at the same stage of development. But the internal problems in South Vietnam do not give those who govern in North Vietnam any right to intervene with military force in support of one of the parties.

If all countries were to usurp in this manner the right to resort to armed action at their own discretion it would result in chaotic world conditions.

STATEMENT BY MR. PAUL-HENRI SPAAK, VICE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE BELGIAN CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES,
APRIL 7, 1965

I shall now discuss the problem of Southeast Asia. . . .

Please believe I am sincere when I say that, with regard to foreign policy, anything is to be preferred to the use of force.

Of course, we must remain faithful to our commitments. It is obvious that we must solve problems through negotiation. I do not think that a more explicit statement could be expected from me on this point.

We are all concerned by the news coming from Southeast Asia. I am shocked to see that we live in a time when gas is still used, when trucks can be turned into booby-traps that explode and kill innocent people. I object just as much to the use of booby-trapped trucks as to that of tear gas.

I say that we are shocked by recourse to violence. But I wish that we could be impartial in this rejection and that we would condemn with the same vigour tear gas and trucks used as traps.

If certain people would protest against some of the acts of those they defend, I should more readily believe in their pacific intentions.

Seventeen non-engaged countries have just published a manifesto couched in moderate terms, and I should be prepared to adhere to it if I fully trusted all the signatories. But there are certain things I do not understand.

There are between 40,000 and 50,000 Egyptian soldiers in Yemen, and we do not hear a single indignant protest from those who declare themselves to be in favour of peace. Similarly, when certain states declare that they will help the Congo rebels, do we hear any protests?

In fact, protests are always made against one side.

With regard to the problem of South Vietnam, I hope for negotiations, I condemn violence from whatever side it comes, but I also ask you to consider the problem from an angle other than the emotional one.

Is it true that Americans are the aggressors in South Vietnam? We hear it said constantly, and people tend to believe that it is true. We are faced here with a complete distortion of historical truth.

There are agreements which were made in 1954 to solve the problems of South Vietnam. They were ratified neither by South Vietnam nor by the United States.

I observe, however, that tranquillity prevailed in South Vietnam until the time when North Vietnam decided that its policy was to assist in the liberation of South Vietnam, i.e. to support an eventual rebellion and, should the occasion arise, to install by force a Communist regime in South Vietnam.

We know that when, in Communist countries, the policy of the Communist Party is referred to, this means the policy of the government as well.

The third congress of the North Vietnamese Communist Party, which took place in September 1960 at a time when peace was still prevailing, assigned two tasks to its members:

(1) To complete the Communist revolution in North Vietnam.

(2) With the same vigour, to liberate South Vietnam.

To liberate South Vietnam through guerilla infiltration — such was the objective of North Vietnam. Furthermore, Ho Chi Minh confirmed his intentions in an interview with the periodical *Red Flag*.

It is North Vietnam that decides — and this is consistent with Chinese Communist expansion — that the time has come to take possession of South Vietnam.

In 1954, the establishment of a Control Commission was agreed on. Let us recall what the Canadian member of this Commission said. I recognize that he is in the minority and that his opinion is not that of the Polish and Indian members. Still, Canada is a responsible country, whose services as a mediator are frequently sought.

The Canadian Government has accepted membership on a Commission in a country where it has no interests. I should also emphasize that the Canadian Prime Minister is a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

What did the Canadian delegate say? He stated that, in the opinion of his delegation, the events that took place in February were the result of the aggressive policy of the North Vietnamese Government. There was no talk yet about the Americans at that time. The Canadian delegate requested as a preliminary the cessation of North Vietnamese subversive activities. . . .

I should also like to remind you . . . that the Labour Government of Britain approves, almost without reservation, of the American role in South Vietnam. I obtained a summary of the speech made by Mr. Stewart in the House of Commons several days ago. I have reason to believe that the British Government has views on this problem which are more precise than those of some who discuss it.

The 1954 agreements, even if they were limited, could have brought peace, Mr. Stewart said. It was in 1959 that North Vietnam called for the development of Viet Cong warfare in the South. It was then that South Vietnam appealed to the United States. At that time there were only 700 American counsellors in South Vietnam. It was only in 1954 that the United States retaliated after having been attacked.

The Communist argument is well known: if the Americans withdraw and if the Viet Cong is allowed to act, then all will be well. But Mr. Stewart went on to say that it was in the British interest that the United States should not give up Southeast Asia. . . .

If you accept the fact that the Americans cannot withdraw and that they must defend themselves against the aggression of which they are the object, you should also accept the consequences of it. It is unpleasant, perhaps, but inevitable. Mr. Stewart remarked that the United States had waited almost five years before retaliating in North Vietnam. Mr. Stevenson declared that the United States would withdraw from Vietnam if the aggression stopped and that it would assist in implementing an aid programme for Southeast Asia.

President Johnson declared that American military action would never go beyond the limits of what was necessary. This, added Mr. Stewart, was not suggestive of a nation ready to embark on warfare at all costs; on the contrary, it showed the moderation of the United States.

Considering that I am accused by some of being an American puppet, I do not find it inappropriate to recall what was said by the Foreign Secretary of a strongly united and pacifist Labour Government.

In fact, North Vietnam is the aggressor; the United States acted only after four years. Does it mean that there should be no negotiation? Even the United States does not say so. But with whom can the negotiation take place? Neither the Hanoi Government nor the Peking Government is proposing negotiations. As we have learned this afternoon, Peking has taken evasive action.

We must seek negotiation, bearing in mind what I have just said. Negotiation has never been a goal in itself. One does not negotiate for the pleasure of negotiating.

The first prerequisite for such negotiation does not seem to have been secured. Is North Vietnam ready to accept neutrality? It has not said so, at any rate.

Second requisite: All parties should agree to negotiate — not the United States alone but also the authorities in Peking and Hanoi.

I have no objection to the fact that the 500 Belgians who have signed an appeal for negotiation are sending this appeal to the American Embassy. But one should also cable to Hanoi and Peking.

Finally, it is not enough to hold negotiations. They must bring results.

I note here, among others, the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The Secretary-General wants to go to Peking and Hanoi. We shall see whether he will be welcome there; personally, I hope so.

I am in favour of negotiation and against warfare of any kind.

I am not certain that Belgian public opinion is fully aware of what goes on in Southeast Asia. This is a problem of decisive importance.

You, Communists, ask for the withdrawal of the United States from South Vietnam. But they are also present in Laos, in Cambodia, in Thailand, in the

Philippines. You would ask, then, that Western powers give up all Southeast Asia. What would this mean?

It would mean that in six months, a year, or 18 months, these countries would fall under the authority and dictatorship of Communism, against the will of their people. Would it be a good thing for them and for humanity? You will agree that this is a terrible responsibility for the United States.

As I am in closer contact with governments than with journalists, I have learned that all countries in Southeast Asia ask for the American presence there; these countries know that, should the Americans give up in Vietnam, there would be no reason for them not to leave the other countries in this part of the world too.

Furthermore, what the Americans are doing to-day in Southeast Asia is not very different from what they did in 1948 in Europe. We knew at that moment what Stalinism meant, and I believe that, without the Americans, we should have had a very bad time.

The Americans felt that they had to defend Europe against Communism, which at that time was encroaching. They took action in two ways: the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Alliance. Owing to their efforts, Europe, as most Europeans wished, did not turn Communist.

Is there any reason why the Americans should not pursue a similar policy in Southeast Asia?

Furthermore, it is a fact that I cannot take action. I can do as you do — make a statement.

Let us try, then, to agree on this — to hope that elements of negotiation will soon be found and that insensate violence will cease. A solution must be found which will enable the Vietnamese people to choose their destiny in complete freedom.

Let us not fail to recognize and to consider that the problem of Southeast Asia is much wider than the Vietnamese crisis. For the problem is to know whether the United States should, by withdrawing from Asia, consign to Chinese dictatorship millions of individuals who do not want it.

REPLY BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ROBERT MENZIES, PRIME MINISTER
OF AUSTRALIA, TO A LETTER FROM THE RIGHT REVEREND J. S. MOYES,
APRIL 20, 1965:

I have your letter of April 9 answering mine to you of March 24, and have given it my most earnest consideration.

Fortified again, I may say, by close consultation with the Minister and Department of External Affairs, I shall proceed to deal with the substance of your propositions.

You dismiss the actions of North Vietnam, in a single phrase, as "illegal activities". The rest of your letter contains, in detail and at some length, a critical attack upon South Vietnam and her supporters.

You accuse them of two violations of the Geneva Accords of 1954. You should recall that the United States and South Vietnamese Governments did not subscribe to the Final Declaration, but made separate statements indicating that they would not use force to prevent the execution of the agreements. The United States declared that it would view any renewal of aggression, in violation of the agreement, with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security.

You allege two serious breaches by the South, approved and supported by the United States. They are, to use your own language:

(1) The continued refusal to hold free elections.

This refers, as you make clear, to elections over both North and South Vietnam. You then go on to assert a proposition which I find astonishing. Your words are:

These elections have never been held. Responsibility for this rests squarely on the Government of South Vietnam, backed by the United States. No authority known to us disagrees that any fair and free election since 1954 would have resulted in a victory for the supporters of Ho Chi Minh.

Surely nobody will deny that North Vietnam is under complete Communist control, and that "free elections" simply cannot happen. That Ho Chi Minh would win in North Vietnam is clear enough, for there would and could be *no other candidate*. How you can blame South Vietnam for the absence of a "fair and free election" in North Vietnam therefore passes my comprehension.

Let me remind you, too, that, if the North had not actively sought to overthrow the Government of the South by force, and by supporting the pockets of Communist Viet Cong in their violent campaign in the South, the people of the South would be at peace, and the way for orderly self-government would be open.

(2) The second "serious breach" alleged by you is "the grant (by South Vietnam) of military bases to a foreign power."

The first answer to this is that it is simply inaccurate. No "military bases" have been granted to the United States. True, that country has sent some forces into South Vietnam, at the request of that country, to assist in its defence against unprovoked aggression. So have we, in a small way. Such actions are in strict conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. I fear that you have overlooked the vital fact that South Vietnam did not begin these troubles. To play down the aggression and incitement from the North, and to devote your major criticism to the defenders, is a strange line of argument.

You next accuse us of "idealising" the situation in Vietnam by speaking of "U.S. support of local freedom and self-government". How do you suppose that freedom in South Vietnam can be fully achieved and maintained when that country is torn about by murderous subversion fomented and supported from the Communist North? A life and death struggle of this kind does not lend itself to theory.

Finally, you appear to pray in aid of the recent statement by President Johnson. I respectfully suggest that you study the full text of that statement. It powerfully supports what my colleague, Mr. Hasluck, and I have been saying about the course and causes of the events in Vietnam, and is fundamentally at

odds with your own analysis. It explains the American presence and actions. It faces the facts.

For example (and I shall not quote *in extenso*), the President said:

Tonight Americans and Asians are dying for a world where each people may choose its own path to change. This is the principle for which our ancestors fought in the valleys of Pennsylvania. It is the principle for which our sons fight in the jungles of Vietnam.

We fight because we must fight if we are to live in a world where every country can shape its own destiny. And only in such a world will our own freedom be finally secure. This kind of a world will never be built by bombs or bullets. Yet the infirmities of men are such that force must often precede reason — and the waste of war the works of peace. We wish this were not so. But we must deal with the world as it is, if it is ever to be as we wish.

But trained men and supplies, orders and arms, flow in a constant stream from North to South. This support is the heart-beat of the war. And it is a war of unparalleled brutality. Simple farmers are the targets of assassination and kidnapping. Women and children are strangled in the night because their men are loyal to the Government. Small and helpless villages are ravaged by sneak attacks. Large-scale raids are conducted on towns, and terror strikes in the heart of cities. The confused nature of this conflict cannot mask the fact that it is the new face of an old enemy. Over this war — and all Asia — is another reality, the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers of Hanoi are urged on by Peking. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, attacked India, and been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Vietnam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purpose.

And later he said:

We will not be defeated. We will not grow tired. We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement.

And then:

It should also be clear that the only path for reasonable men is the path of peaceful settlement. Such peace demands an independent South Vietnam — securely guaranteed and able to shape its own relationships to all others — free from outside interference — tied to no alliance — a military base for no other country.

It is against the background of these clear statements and for their achievement that the President has said, once more, that he is willing to have discussions.

It is because we agree with all this that, in answering a recent Parliamentary question, I said that I could not support a suggestion “that the United States, *instead of fighting*, should negotiate”.

My colleagues and I must decline to be cast for the roles of warmongers and supporters of illicit action on the part of the United States or South Vietnam. We are constantly aware of our duties to our country and our people. One of those duties is to do what we can to keep the peace, and to help others to keep it. Another is to be acutely aware of the need to preserve the security of Australia. It would be a sorry day if, by undermining the will and capacity to resist in South-east Asia, we found aggressive Communism moving nearer to our own shores. We shall observe our obligations under SEATO and ANZUS not only because Australia has pledged its word — a reason compelling enough, in all conscience — but because those obligations have been accepted on behalf of our own free future.

To sum up, my Lord Bishop, we have never approached the problem in a negative way. We have no desire for hostilities to spread or to grow more intense,

though, if this is forced upon us, we shall face the resulting situation and not seek to avoid it.

Like President Johnson, we wish South Vietnam and the whole of South and Southeast Asia to live in peace and international amity and to have full and free opportunities for economic development and national independence. It is just because we believe in these positive objectives that we find ourselves unable to ignore the lessons of the twentieth century and to acquiesce placidly in the destruction of the independence of South Vietnam, either by direct outside armed Communist aggression or by internal armed Communist insurrection and subversion stimulated and sustained, as I am sure you must agree, through North Vietnam.

You have now twice publicly stated your views. This letter contains my second answer. You will, I am sure, understand that I must now leave the issues to the judgment of public opinion. I cannot, consistently with many pressing duties, continue this correspondence. But it has, I think, served a valuable public purpose.

STATEMENT ON SOUTH VIETNAM BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE KEITH HOLYOAKE, PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND, ON 13 MAY 1965:

New Zealand's security cannot help but be affected by the outcome of the fighting in Malaysia and Vietnam — by Indonesia's ambitious and "crush Malaysia" threats, and by the ruthless undeclared war which Communist North Vietnam, aided and abetted by Communist China, is waging against South Vietnam.

I am keenly aware of how deeply disturbed everyone is, and must be, about this situation and the danger of it deteriorating still further. In recent days many people have expressed their disquiet to me through petitions, by telegram, and by letter. I have spoken with citizens from all walks of life who felt deeply enough about these matters to approach me or to demonstrate their concern.

Naturally, the issue which is of deepest concern for all of us is whether we should give military assistance to South Vietnam in its bitter struggle for independence and freedom against flagrant Communist aggression. As you know, we already have in South Vietnam a civilian surgical team and an army engineer unit in a non-combatant role. The Government has made no decision at this stage how we might best give further help to the people of South Vietnam in their tragic plight. But let me declare here — clearly and unequivocally — that the New Zealand Government fully supports and approves the action taken by the United States of America at the request of the Government of South Vietnam and more recently the support announced by the Australian Government.

The Vietnam issue and the whole Southeast Asian situation confronts New Zealand with a decision of the utmost importance and consequence. It is one to which the Government has been giving the most anxious and earnest consideration for many months. The purpose of this statement is to set out as clearly as possible

the background and the issues against which the Government must make its decision. The facts are these: the Government's first and greatest concern is for the safety and security of the people of New Zealand. This involves us in defence treaties and obligations we must honour.

Since the war, successive New Zealand Governments have recognized that New Zealand's first line of defence is in Southeast Asia. Let me remind you that we already have nearly 1,400 men serving there. Our Army, Air Force and Navy are deployed in a combat role in Malaysia, where New Zealand is standing alongside our Commonwealth allies against the threat of Indonesian confrontation.

The Vietnam war is *not* a civil war nor a "popular uprising", as some people are ready to assert. This is a cruel, vicious war. People are living in terror of Communist Viet Cong torture, mutilation, arson, kidnapping and murder. This ruthless campaign is being directed and supplied from Communist North Vietnam, and openly supported by Communist China.

Should this concern us? The truth is that the threat to New Zealand's security at this moment is every bit as real in Vietnam as it is in Malaysia — probably more so. The truth is that the United States of America has been carrying the free world's defence burden in Vietnam. The Government fully supports and is determined to work towards negotiations and the objective of a peaceful settlement, and to ensure the territorial integrity of these countries. But until the Viet Cong and North Vietnam discontinue their aggression and give evidence of readiness to accept a peaceful settlement, the freedom of South Vietnam must be safeguarded.

And let's get this fact crystal clear. The South Vietnamese people are fighting for their own freedom. They have an army of 240,000 men and rather more than that in police and local defence units — over half a million men. They are supported by approximately 40,000 American troops. America is *not* fighting this war for the South Vietnamese, but *with them and at the request of their Government*.

There is criticism of America's increased military effort in South Vietnam. Let's not forget that Britain is standing alongside Malaysia for similar reasons with forces totalling about 50,000 men — more than the Americans have in Vietnam.

My last point is this — and don't let anyone have any doubts about it — if South Vietnam falls to the Communists it will then be the turn of Thailand and Malaysia and every other smaller country in the region.

In this eventuality the threat to New Zealand would be that much closer to home. If we are not prepared to play our part now, can we in good conscience expect our allies to help later on?

These are the facts of the situation.

It is vital that all New Zealanders should understand the reasons for the present state of conflict and unrest in Southeast Asia, and know where we stand.

I should remind you that Malaya was saved by British military aid in a bitter ten-year jungle war against Communist guerillas. Our New Zealand troops supported Malaya then, just as we're supporting Malaysia today.

You'll recall that Korea was and is divided, like Vietnam. In 1950, 16 nations of the free world successfully resisted open Communist aggression. New Zealand troops served in Korea. Since Korea, the Communists have turned to subversion and insurgency to achieve their aims — and don't let anyone be deluded about the aggressive, expansionist aims of international Communism.

Like South Korea, South Vietnam is under Communist attack. This time it is not open aggression but subversion, infiltration and terrorism. The increasing infiltration of men and supplies from North Vietnam is a documented fact.

It's not difficult to imagine what can happen, and what has happened, to the structure of government and to the morale of officials and the people under this fearful sort of Viet Cong terrorist pressure. Think what it would mean in New Zealand if there were armed Communists, in formations up to 1,000 strong, roaming the countryside, terrorizing the people and using every means to destroy the authority of the Government. It would take a very brave man to take his stand on the side of law and order; and in the countryside such bravery would be suicidal.

Many South Vietnamese people have taken such a stand. Thousands of them have paid with their lives. In the past year alone, the Viet Cong have assassinated 1,800 Government officials and village leaders, and kidnapped 10,000 more as hostages. Of course, the Communists have been aided by Government instability in South Vietnam. Because the South Vietnamese have not yet achieved the sort of stability that we regard here as normal is no justification for abandoning these people to the Communists. In the name of freedom and humanity, the South Vietnamese people must be supported. They *are* being supported — by America and 33 other nations — but the great burden is being carried by America. America has given South Vietnam economic and military assistance amounting to over \$3.5 billion. Economic aid in 1964 alone totalled \$234 million. . . .

The United States has acted with firmness and restraint in this extremely difficult situation. Yet it is said that recent American action is provocative — that it risks "escalation" of the war.

So many people completely ignore the fact that it is the North Vietnamese who have been interfering in the affairs of South Vietnam, not the South interfering in the North. They ignore the fact that the Communists have been steadily escalating the scale of their activities for years.

The critical point at issue is this: will Communist North Vietnam be allowed to impose its domination over South Vietnam by force? If it does, no other country in Southeast Asia will be able to feel safe.

President Johnson has emphasised many times that the United States wants an end to this war. He has offered to enter into discussions unconditionally and, with great generosity, has proposed a vast development scheme for the area — including North Vietnam. He has spoken of a sum of \$1,000 million being made available. This could give a better life to all the people of the region.

The Communists have called President Johnson's offer a fraud. If so, why don't they put it to the test and show it up for what they say it is? They have refused every opening for negotiation.

Some people who have written to me have suggested that the conflict in Vietnam ought to be solved by United Nations mediation. In theory such a proposal would seem to be a most worthwhile one and I wish with all my heart that it were possible. It is certainly a principal purpose of the United Nations to settle disputes by peaceful means. If it were practicable, I would urge and use every possible means to have the United Nations settle this dispute.

However, we must consider the facts. At present, the United Nations is beset by the gravest and most complicated internal problems — problems which, unless solved, could well jeopardise the very existence of the organization.

They have repulsed attempts by the British Labour Government and 17 non-aligned nations to assist in finding a solution. The Communists clearly don't want a settlement which would permit South Vietnam to live in peace and independence. They're determined on conquest and on imposing a Communist dictatorship upon South Vietnam.

Most of the representations made to me in recent weeks have had as their objective the attainment of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. I have welcomed this display of concern, which, of course, the Government fully shares, and which the Government has advocated in every practicable way. There are some people, not many fortunately, who are less concerned about the fate of the people of South Vietnam than with getting the Americans out of that country. On what happens then, they are strangely silent.

One cannot help but wonder whose interest they are attempting to serve. Is it New Zealand's? Or is it perhaps the interest of some other country? I think that we all know the answers to these questions.

I repeat again that Communist terrorism must be halted in South Vietnam. Experience shows that retreat solves nothing. In the 1930s, the world learnt again and again — in Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain and Czechoslovakia — that negotiation without the will to resist aggression means capitulation.

If a wider conflict in Southeast Asia is to be avoided, the lesson of history is clearly that we must stand firm in support of small nations like South Vietnam and Malaysia.

New Zealand's vital interests are at stake in this war. The fate of South Vietnam will help to determine the future of Malaysia, Thailand and the other small nations of the area. New Zealand's own security is involved.

The people of South Vietnam must be supported in their struggle against Communist aggression. This Government will continue to seek and to support every possible approach to a peaceful settlement which will give them security and independence.

Visit to Cyprus by the Secretary of State for External Affairs

THE Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, visited Cyprus from May 3 to 5, 1965, to see the Canadian contingent in the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force, to pay courtesy calls on Cypriot and UN leaders and to get a first-hand impression of the situation on the island. During a crowded day and a half, he visited the reconnaissance squadron of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, the Queen's Own Rifles at Troodos Base Camp and at Tjichlos Camp in the Kyrenia Hills, the Nicosia Zone headquarters, which is commanded and staffed by Canadians, and the headquarters of the UN Force, where he met the Force's Acting Commander, Brigadier Bruce Macdonald of Canada. He also toured the Green Line which separates the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot sectors of Nicosia and visited the village of Temblos. In addition, Mr. Martin made courtesy calls on the President, Archbishop Makarios, the Vice-President, Dr. Fazil Kuchuk, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, Mr. Carlos Bernardes. While



The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, reviews a squad of the Queen's Own Rifles, one of the Canadian units represented in the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus.

in Geneva on his way to Cyprus, he had had talks with General K. S. Thimayya, the Commander of the UN Force.

After seeing the UN Force in action fulfilling its three essential purposes, namely, the prevention of the recurrence of fighting, the establishment of law and order, and the gradual restoration of more normal conditions of life, the Minister told the press, before his departure from Nicosia, that the Force was "a part in the process of establishing what will ultimately be the way in which nations will settle their differences, not by intervention by individual nations but by the intervention of the United Nations". In answer to a question, he pointed out that, though NATO had a legitimate interest in the Cyprus problem, since two of its members were involved, it was not concerned in the same sense as the United Nations.

In his report to the House of Commons on May 14 on his Cyprus visit, Mr Martin said:

"My purpose in visiting Cyprus was to pay respects on behalf of the Government of Canada and its people to the United Nations Force in Cyprus. I went there, in particular, to visit the men of the Canadian contingent and to thank them for the services which they and their predecessors have rendered to the United Nations peace-keeping effort.

"I also took the opportunity to have discussions with President Makarios, Vice-President Kuchuk and the representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Bernardes. I also saw the Commander of the UN Force, General Thimayya, in Geneva on my way to Cyprus. The Acting Commander of the Force in General Thimayya's absence is Brigadier Bruce Macdonald of Edmonton, who has already gained the respect of the two communities on the island. I left Cyprus . . . prouder than ever to be a Canadian.

"No one could have felt otherwise after seeing the efficient and compassionate manner in which the men of the Canadian contingent are carrying out their varied duties, and I am happy to report this to my colleague the Minister of National Defence.

An Unforgettable Experience

"There is no substitute for personal observation. It was an unforgettable experience to fly deep into the Kyrenia Hills, where a part of the Canadian contingent carries out United Nations control duties in one of the most sensitive and heavily-fortified areas on the island. There I saw a tiny outpost marked by the flag of the United Nations and manned by Canadian soldiers, interposed between Greek and Turkish strongpoints on nearby opposing hilltops.

"Despite the delicacy and the danger of their assignment, the Canadian troops, like the other contingents in the force, do not place a narrow limit on their peace-keeping task. A young Canadian medical officer spends a good part of each day ministering to the tragic needs of refugees. Cypriot farmers are driven through danger areas on the way to harvest their crops.

"I need not emphasize that, in the midst of all the destruction, human misery and economic chaos, the United Nations is playing an indispensable role. I do not believe that the relative stability which prevails on that island today would have been possible had it not been for the United Nations Force. An important task of the Force is to interpose itself between the opposing lines and to patrol the areas of potential conflict so as to prevent the escalation of minor incidents.

"In countless local situations, the Force, often represented by local commanders of very junior rank, has succeeded in negotiating a cease fire and a local settlement. When local negotiation fails, the issues must be taken up with the leadership of the two communities by the Force Commander or the Representative of the Secretary-General.

Indispensable Role of UN Force

"At the NATO meeting, I underlined the indispensable peace-keeping role that the United Nations Force is performing in Cyprus. It is important, however, to recognize that the effectiveness of the United Nations Force may diminish in proportion to the fading hopes for movement toward a settlement. We cannot afford to slacken the impetus toward an agreed solution.

"In my conversations I naturally maintained the position that, as a contributor to the United Nations Force, Canada would not advocate a particular solution, but I did urge at every opportunity that there should be early negotiations between the parties. I put this view not only to the President and Vice-President of Cyprus but to the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey, with whom I had private talks in London. I was, therefore, encouraged as I listened to the constructive statements they made in the NATO Council confirming that they had agreed to meet together with a view to normalizing relations between Greece and Turkey and to improving the situation in Cyprus."

In an address on May 18 to the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities in Windsor, Ontario, Mr. Martin had the following to say about his visit to Cyprus:

... Within the last fortnight, I was able to witness at first hand the great contribution to peace which the United Nations is making in Cyprus. It was a memorable experience. On that island some 6,000 United Nations soldier-ambassadors are effectively keeping the peace. They are playing an indispensable part. By their presence and by helping to resolve causes of local friction they are preventing the recurrence of fighting. They are helping to establish law and order. They are doing what they can towards the gradual restoration of normal conditions of life on the island. They are holding the fort while the groundwork is being laid for political negotiations looking towards a peaceful solution of the dispute. They are doing a magnificent job. They are doing honour and credit to the nine countries which placed those peace-keeping forces at the disposal of the United Nations.

I have come away from Cyprus with a much more vivid impression of what

the United Nations has done there. I was particularly pleased that United Nations forces now have much greater authority and freedom of movement than they had in the earlier phases of their mission. I want to pay particular tribute to General Thimayya, the distinguished Indian soldier, who is in command of United Nations forces on the island and who has contributed so much to the success of this operation. It is probably the most effective operation the United Nations has ever conducted in the cause of peace.

Key Role for Canadians

I am proud to report to you this evening on the key role that our own Canadian forces have been playing in Cyprus. They have set a very high standard of performance. They and their predecessors have established an enviable reputation for themselves. That was the unanimous judgment of all concerned on the island, including the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, the Vice-President, Dr. Kuchuk, and General Thimayya. It has certainly confirmed our belief that training for peace enhances the effectiveness of Canadian forces called upon to serve under the blue and white banner of the United Nations.

This particular operation has had to be conducted against very great odds. The mandate of the operation runs for only three months at a time. The funds to finance it have to come from voluntary contributions. I need hardly say that these continuing uncertainties surrounding the operation have created serious problems of planning and execution. It is, in my view, far from being an ideal pattern for future operations of this kind and I would hope that, out of the discussions now in progress in a special committee of the General Assembly, will come some formula that will give the United Nations a more assured capacity to respond to future situations of emergency.

I am glad to say that Canada was able to play a crucial part in the establishment of the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus. If we had not acted as and when we did and pledged our support for the operation, there was a real possibility of armed conflict being resumed on the island with all the attendant risks of a military confrontation between Greece and Turkey. In the intervening 14 months Canada has maintained what is now the largest contingent in Cyprus. And we have shouldered the full financial burden of keeping our forces there.

Canadian Commitment Firm

The end of the operation is not yet in sight, and I hope that more countries will see their way clear to assuming some share of responsibility for its continuance. As far as Canada is concerned, we intend, for the present, to maintain our commitment in Cyprus. At the same time, we look to a long-term settlement of the present crisis which will make the continued presence of a United Nations Force on the island unnecessary.

As a member of that Force, it would not, in my view, be appropriate for Canada to advocate any particular views with regard to the nature of such a long-

term settlement. That is essentially the task of the parties concerned and of the United Nations, which has been entrusted with the task of mediation. The United Nations Mediator has now submitted his report. While there have been differences of view between the parties with regard to that report, I believe nevertheless that the stage has been reached when negotiations between them need to be started. I would hope that that would be done in a positive and constructive spirit.

The situation on the island is complex. Two communities — Greek and Turkish — have long been established there. Both represent cultures and civilization which have made an immense contribution to the Eastern Mediterranean area and beyond. There has been a breakdown of mutual confidence between these communities and there is very deep bitterness and suspicion between them. The Greek community represents a majority on the island, and I think we can all appreciate, in such a situation, the problems encountered in the search for a framework that will give assurance to all the inhabitants and harness their energies and their loyalties in the best interests of the new state.

Greek and Turkish Involvement

Inevitably, the interests of Greece and Turkey are engaged in the course of events in Cyprus. Both are our partners in NATO and the strain in their relations arising from their differences over Cyprus has been a matter of grave concern to the Alliance. On the basis of my conversations with the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers at the NATO meetings last week, I can say that both countries are aware of their responsibilities in this situation and that they are prepared to play their part in facilitating a long-term solution of the problem in Cyprus.

It is my own firm belief that the time has now come for all interested parties to get the process of negotiation under way. I put this view as forcefully as I could to those concerned with the situation in the course of my visit to Cyprus and subsequently at the NATO meetings in London. I thought it right to make a particular point of emphasizing the urgency of moving forward. I can only say that I am encouraged by the response I encountered on all sides and by some of the positive steps which are already being taken in that direction.

The fundamental problem of peaceful and co-operative coexistence is primarily for the two communities on the island to resolve with the good offices of the United Nations. But I am sure it is also important that parallel discussions be continued between the Governments of Greece and Turkey to improve their relations and to explore the respective contributions they might be able to make to a durable solution of the Cyprus problem. And, when I speak of a durable solution, I mean, of course, a solution that is capable of commanding the agreement of all the parties. Given the necessary spirit of compromise and accommodation, I believe that such a solution is not beyond reach. I should certainly hope that all concerned will do all they can to bring it within their grasp. . . .

NATO Ministerial Meeting

The following communiqué was issued at the end of the meeting of NATO ministers held in London, May 11 and 12, 1965⁽¹⁾:

The North Atlantic Council held its spring ministerial meeting in London on 11th and 12th May, 1965.

2. In a comprehensive survey of the international scene, ministers noted that, so far as Europe was concerned, the situation was basically unchanged. There had been no major crisis or confrontation, and the trend towards increased contacts between East and West had continued.

3. Nevertheless, the fundamental causes of tension still persist, and little, if any, progress has been made towards removing them. Germany is still divided, and recent interferences with freedom of communication with Berlin have once again shown the dangers of this situation. In these circumstances, the Council associated itself with the declaration issued by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America on 12th May 1965 (which is attached as an annex to this communiqué). At the same time, the Council confirmed the terms of its declaration of 16th December 1958 with regard to Berlin.

4. Member states are determined to work together, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Alliance, for peace, freedom and the rule of law. They remain ready to seize any opportunity for achieving progressively a genuine improvement in relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. Ministers agreed on the continuing necessity within the Alliance of exchanging information and views to the greatest extent possible, and of maintaining the maximum degree of harmonization in the policies pursued by member countries.

5. Ministers welcomed the continuing progress in political consultation within the Alliance. They observed with satisfaction that the practice had become more frequent of ministers and high officials from capitals attending regular meetings of the Council in Permanent Session for discussion of subjects of special interest. They also noted that the Council in Permanent Session had embarked on the study of the state of the Alliance which it had been directed, at the last ministerial meeting, to undertake. They instructed the permanent representatives to continue the examination of this question with a view to submitting to ministers suggestions which could be discussed, if appropriate, at the December ministerial meeting.

6. The ministers reviewed comprehensively the international situation, with particular attention to areas of tension or conflict such as Malaysia, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and some African states, where grave threats have arisen

⁽¹⁾ The statement to the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for External Affairs at the time of the tabling of this communiqué will be found on Page 253 of this issue of *External Affairs*.

to international security and peace. They reaffirmed the right of all peoples to live at peace under governments of their own free choice.

7. With regard to Greek-Turkish relations, ministers took note of the Secretary-General's report on the "watching brief" which he continues to hold in conformity with the decision taken by ministers at The Hague meeting. In the course of the ministerial meeting, contacts took place between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Greece and Turkey. Taking note of this, the Council expressed its satisfaction and its desire that these contacts should continue in a constructive spirit with a view to normalising relations between these two member countries and promoting an improvement in the situation in Cyprus by assisting the efforts of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. It also expressed the hope that the search for an agreed and equitable solution of the Cyprus problem, in conformity with the relevant resolution of the United Nations Security Council, would thus be facilitated.

8. The hope was expressed that, without prejudging the legal and political position of any member country, an early solution would be found to the difficulties facing the United Nations, in order that the world organization might be enabled to play its proper role in helping to preserve international peace and security.

9. Ministers reaffirmed their interest in the stability and the economic and social welfare of the developing countries.

10. Ministers expressed their regret that so little progress had been made towards disarmament. For their part, they will continue to press for active negotiations to achieve measures of disarmament under effective international control. They also emphasized the importance they attach to preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

11. So long as the threat of aggression, direct or indirect, persists, the prime task of the Atlantic Alliance will be to maintain a defensive posture adequate to deter attack and meet it effectively should the need arise. The Council expressed the hope that the meeting of defence ministers to be held in Paris on 31st May and 1st June would lead to further progress in elucidating the complex and interrelated problems of strategy, force requirements, and resources.

12. A meeting of the Council at ministerial level will be held in Paris in December 1965.

Three-Power Declaration on Germany

The Governments of the Republic of France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, together with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, have recently undertaken a further examination of the German problem and of the prospects for a resumption of discussions on this subject with the Government of the Soviet Union. The three Governments have taken this action

by virtue of the obligations and responsibilities concerning Germany, including Berlin and access thereto, devolving upon them since the end of the Second World War and which they share with the Government of the Soviet Union.

Further study will be given to the possibility of an approach to the Soviet Government on this subject, with due regard to the prospect of such an approach leading to useful results.

The three Governments consider that, in the absence of a real solution of the Germany problem, based on the exercise in the two parts of Germany of the right of self-determination, the situation in Europe as a whole will remain unsettled and that, in consequence, peace will not be fully assured on that continent. This solution is necessary not only in the interest of the German people, which asks for its reunification, but in the interest of all European peoples as well as other peoples concerned.

It is evident that the necessary settlement can only be achieved by peaceful means and in circumstances involving a general agreement assuring the security of all European states. The three Governments are convinced that the Government of the Federal Republic, which has solemnly renounced the use of force, is in agreement with them on these points. They reaffirm their belief that, in the interests of the peace of Europe and of the world, the necessary decisions cannot be indefinitely postponed.

Franco-Canadian Relations

FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET AGAIN

Within the scope of regular ministerial talks between France and Canada initiated in January 1964, when the Prime Minister visited France, Mr. Paul Martin, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, met the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Maurice Couve de Murville, on May 7 last, at the Chateau de la Celle Saint-Cloud near Paris. Following his talk with Mr. Couve de Murville, Mr. Martin made the following statement:

As you know, I have just been entertained at lunch by the Foreign Minister of France. For many years I have, I confess, had a great admiration for Mr. Couve de Murville, diplomat *par excellence*, and I always find a talk with him most rewarding. This is our fourth in the last 16 months. As usual, we have discussed the international situation, NATO questions and some bilateral matters.

Among the latter, we compared notes on ways and means of strengthening trade between France and Canada, co-operation in scientific research and cultural matters.

We also intend to send a high-level economic delegation to Paris quite soon to explore the question of a two-way trade expansion.

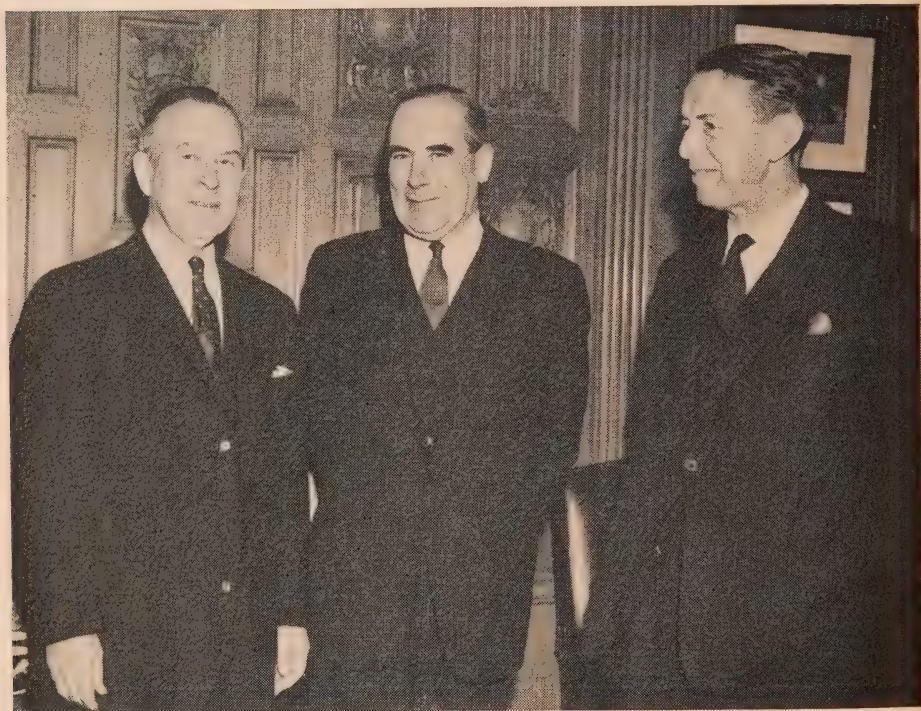


Chateau de la Celle Saint-Cloud

As for scientific co-operation, Dr. Maréchal, the Director-General of French Scientific Research, and several other distinguished French scientists visited Canada last month, and there are good prospects for closer ties with France in this field.

Our cultural exchanges with France and other French-speaking countries are also expanding rapidly, and we look forward to the visit later this month of Mr. Jean Basdevant, Director-General of Cultural Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay.

From this brief report, you can see that, though we have nothing very specific to announce at this time, the conversations I have had with the French Foreign Minister have been extremely useful and cordial and we are in complete agreement that the relations between France and Canada are continuing to draw the two countries closer at an accelerated rate. I look forward to seeing Mr. Couve de Murville again in a few months.



VISIT OF LORD CARADON

During his private visit to the British High Commissioner in Ottawa, Sir Henry Lintott, from April 25 to 27, Lord Caradon, the British Permanent Representative to the United Nations, called on the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, and the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs. Shown in the above photograph (left to right) are: Mr. Pearson; Lord Caradon and Sir Henry Lintott.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

THE UNITED NATIONS Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which met in Geneva from March 23 to June 16, 1964, recommended to the General Assembly the establishment of permanent institutions to carry forward the work of the Conference on the trade and development problems of the developing nations. At its nineteenth session, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 1995 (XIX) providing, *inter alia*, for the creation of a 55-member Trade and Development Board to carry out the functions of the Conference between its sessions, which will normally be held at intervals of not more than three years. The Board held its first session in New York from April 5 to 30.

The UNCTAD will be a forum where the trade and financing problems of the developing countries will be discussed and recommendations made to governments and other international organizations for the adoption of new policies in the aid and trade fields. As a major trading nation, Canada has been assured of a permanent seat on the Trade and Development Board. The recent meeting in New York, the Board's first session, was devoted mainly to organizational questions such as the composition and terms of reference of its committees. There are to be four such committees, dealing respectively with manufactures, commodities, invisibles and financing related to trade, and shipping. The following are extracts from a general statement to the Board on April 12 by Miss Margaret Meagher, Canadian Ambassador to Austria and head of the Canadian delegation:

"... As our agenda indicates, this first meeting of the Board is primarily concerned with organizational questions. We are all obliged to see to it that an organization which embodies to such a great extent the world's hopes and aspirations for a better economic order is established on sound institutional lines. It may be too much to hope that we shall be able, at this meeting, to transform the UNCTAD dialogue from the level of general concepts to the level of specific tasks. But let us at least begin this process of transformation and let us shape institutions, priorities and work programmes along lines which conform to what seems attainable in the period immediately ahead. . . .

Conference Time Not Wasted

"... I have listened with interest to those delegates who have expressed impatience that more rapid progress has not been made in translating the Geneva proposals into concrete action. I sympathize with this point of view, but I hope that our colleagues from developing countries will not conclude that a year of valuable time has been lost. The Geneva Conference was large; it was exploring a new approach — the contribution that trade can make to economic development. The recommendations of the Conference were both numerous and diverse and hence require

careful study. So far as Canada is concerned, the Geneva Conference had, above all, what I might call an "impact" significance. One speaks of this or that body becoming "seized" of a problem. Well, following the Geneva Conference, Canada is "seized" of the problem of under-development in a new context and with fresh urgency. As a result of this new dimension of involvement, this fresh concentration on the contribution trade can make to development, we are more familiar with, and better prepared to come to grips with, the manifold aspects of the problem than we were a year ago.

"We are, in Canada, a market economy. Our Government can influence but it cannot decree immediate changes in our business practices and trade patterns. What it can do is take into account the recommendations of UNCTAD in the evolution of Canadian commercial policy and it can encourage the support of influential sectors of our economy on behalf of UNCTAD's objectives in the trade field. Perhaps I might mention one recent example of this kind of encouragement. Our Trade Minister, speaking last week to the Canadian Importers Association, referred to this meeting of the Board and said that trade with the developing countries was perhaps the most compelling commercial policy issue confronting Canada and the world trading community at large. In this context he said in part, and I quote:

... the aspirations of the less-developed countries will not be fully achieved simply by the provision of increased amounts of external aid. To a significant degree, the answer must lie in increased opportunities for these countries to trade, and to reverse their deteriorating position in total world trade. Increased trade could, in turn, attract development capital and multiply the benefits of external aid. . . . The Canadian import community has an important role to play here, both in identifying profitable areas of consumer demand for the exports of developing countries, and in ensuring orderly and progressive marketing of their goods in Canada.

UNCTAD Must Be An Instrument

"This illustrates, I suggest, that it is not a matter of convincing us of the need to embark on a new co-operative effort. We know that a problem exists and that its dimensions are enormous. But UNCTAD must become much more than an organization in which the developed countries are periodically reminded of the urgency of the problem. It must become an *instrument*, which commands confidence as a place to seek solutions.

"I submit that this matter of confidence in UNCTAD as an instrument is a crucial consideration, especially during this formative period of our new organization. May I suggest a number of ways in which, in the view of my Government, we can build up this confidence.

"*First*, since we cannot do everything at once, we must establish an orderly set of priorities from among the many recommendations of the Geneva Conference.

"*Secondly*, we must arrange our schedule of meetings to allow adequate time for thorough consideration in all our national capitals of the issues at hand.

"*Thirdly*, we must approach our work on the basis of objective examination of these issues; more particularly, we should ensure before embarking on a par-

ticular course of action that it will effectively contribute to the solution of the problems of under-development. We should avoid the recurring agenda item which turns up at every meeting and never gets disposed of.

“Fourthly, we must be able to show our governments that all members of UNCTAD, developed and developing, accept that economic development is a collective responsibility.

“If we do these things, if we bear constantly in mind the need for confidence in UNCTAD as an instrument, we shall have taken a long step towards ensuring that the ‘impact’ significance of the Geneva Conference is maintained and not dissipated. In particular, we shall ensure the continuing interest of ministers and senior officials charged with shaping policy in our national capitals. As the distinguished Representative of India said the other day, skilled negotiators are a very scarce commodity. The extent to which UNCTAD engages the attention of that rather small group of people who influence economic policy in our various national capitals depends very directly on maintaining confidence in UNCTAD as an institution.

Relations With Other Organizations

“I believe this point has particular relevance to a problem which some other distinguished delegates have already discussed — namely, the relations between UNCTAD and other international organizations. We do not believe that the existence of a number of organizations whose broad objectives and fields of activity overlap to some extent is in itself something which should cause concern. Indeed, each of these bodies can make a useful contribution by bringing to bear on development problems its own special kind of experience, approach and methods of operation.

“It is clear, however, that special care needs to be taken to ensure that the various organizations working in related fields complement and support one another’s activities. No doubt this will entail some degree of mutual adjustment. In planning work programmes and studies, it will be important to bear in mind that duplication of effort can lead to confusion and waste of resources. Participating governments have the main responsibility here, and I have no doubt that they will follow carefully the evolution of working relations among the secretariats of the bodies concerned. In this connection, it was most reassuring to hear from our Secretary-General that fruitful contacts have already been established between the UNCTAD Secretariat and those of the GATT, the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, the Centre of Industrial Development, the FAO, the IBRD, the IMF and other agencies.

“Perhaps I might now mention briefly some existing policies of my Government which support the aims and principles of UNCTAD. For example, the conditions of access to our markets for products of export interest to the developing countries are among the most liberal in the world; we have no quantitative restrictions on such products, and a wide range of them enter Canada duty free

or are subject only to moderate tariffs. Our bilateral and multilateral aid programmes have increased by more than 50 per cent in the past 18 months, and a very large part of these programmes now consist of grants and long-term interest-free loans. To an increasing extent, our aid is being channelled through multilateral institutions. For example, we have recently concluded arrangements whereby, through the Inter-American Development Bank, we shall be extending development loans on concessional terms in Latin American countries. In the past year we have, as a Contracting Party of the GATT, actively participated in drawing up the new Part IV of the Agreement.

"I mention these developments in our policy not with a view to claiming any special virtue for Canada but rather to illustrate the point that, when one speaks of 'implementing' the recommendations of the first UNCTAD, one must look not only within UNCTAD itself but also at many other advances which, although they may not bear an UNCTAD label, are nonetheless in the spirit of UNCTAD and undoubtedly support the objectives of this organization. . . .

". . . In conclusion, let me say once again on behalf of Canada that we understand both the magnitude of the problem of development and the important role which UNCTAD must play in contributing to its solution. There is no easy solution to this problem, and UNCTAD will need to seek a proper combination of dynamism and patience as its work proceeds. It will need to engage the best efforts of all its member states, developing and developed alike, working in a spirit of co-operation among them. My Government may be counted on to play its part in this joint endeavour."

UN Commission on Human Rights

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, GENEVA

THE Commission on Human Rights held its twenty-first session in Geneva from March 22 to April 15, 1965. This organ of the United Nations is composed of 21 members, each elected by the Economic and Social Council for a three-year term. The present membership is as follows: Austria, Britain, Canada (since February 1, 1963), Chile, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, France, India, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Liberia, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Poland, the Ukrainian S.S.R., the U.S.S.R. and the United States. The Commission holds one session each year. This was the last session attended by Canada during its current membership on the Commission. The Canadian delegate to this session was Miss Margaret Aitken of Toronto. She was assisted by Miss V. Kasurak of Windsor and Mr. Charles Lussier, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, as alternate delegates and Mr. J. A. Beesley, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United



Members of the Canadian delegation to the twenty-first session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights: Standing left to right: Mr. Gilles Grondin; Mr. Alan Beesley. Seated left to right: Miss Valerie Kasurak; Miss Margaret Aitken; Mr. Charles Lussier.

Nations, Geneva, and Mr. Gilles Grondin, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, as advisers.

The Commission on Human Rights was created by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations early in 1946 to advise the Council and submit proposals and recommendations to it on such matters as an international bill of rights, international declarations or conventions on civil liberties, the status of women, the protection of minorities, the prevention of discrimination and the rights of man generally. It was the Commission on Human Rights that undertook the preparation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948. The Commission was also responsible for the elaboration of a number of international instruments in the field of human rights, including the important draft covenants on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, that are still under consideration in the General Assembly.

Agenda for the Twenty-First Session

The Commission is at present engaged in the drafting of an international convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance. Other items on its heavy agenda relate to: the question of periodic reports on human rights, the right of everyone to be free from arbitrary arrest, detention and exile; freedom of information; capital punishment; police ethics; the problem of war criminals and of crimes committed against humanity; and the programme of activities that are to be undertaken on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration in 1968.

Elimination of Religious Intolerance

In the course of its seventeenth session in 1962, the General Assembly requested the Economic and Social Council to have the Commission on Human Rights prepare a draft declaration and a draft convention on the subject of religious intolerance. This request had been transmitted by the Commission on Human Rights in 1963 to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The latter body, while unable to produce a "preliminary draft declaration", did forward to the Commission: (a) in January 1964 a draft declaration "representing its general views" (which were based on a study by its Indian member, Arcot Krishnaswami) and (b) in January 1965 a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance. The Commission decided, at its twentieth session in February and March 1964, to establish a working group consisting of 15 members, including Canada, for the purpose of drafting, on the basis of the Sub-Commission's "preliminary views", a draft declaration for the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance. The working group could not complete its consideration of the draft declaration but presented to the Commission in March 1964 its tentative proposals. The report containing these proposals was sent by the Commission to ECOSOC in March 1964 and by the latter to the General Assembly in August of the same year. The General Assembly has not yet discussed it, in view of the postponement of its nineteenth session.

Meanwhile, a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance was produced by the Sub-Commission in January 1965. This draft was taken up by the Commission on Human Rights at the session that has just ended. Only the preamble and three of the 13 articles that the draft contains were adopted. The preamble describes the considerations that have led the states parties to the convention to decide to adopt all necessary measures for eliminating intolerance in all its forms and manifestations and to prevent and combat discrimination on the ground of religion or belief. These considerations include "dignity and equality inherent in all human beings", recognized as one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief", referred to in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the fact that "the disregard and infringement of human rights and fundamental freedoms have brought great suffering to mankind". Article I affirms that, for the purpose of the Convention, the expression "religion or belief" shall include theistic, non-theistic, and atheistic belief and that "discrimination on the ground of religion or belief" shall include any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on religion or belief which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life". It also makes clear that "neither the establishment of a religion nor the recognition of a religion or belief by a state nor the separation of church from state shall by itself be considered religious intolerance or discrimination on the ground of religion or belief". Article II recognizes that the religion or the belief of an individual is a matter for his own conscience and must be respected accordingly. The first part of Article III states that the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief includes (a) freedom to adhere or not to adhere to any religion or belief and to change one's religion or belief in accordance with the dictate of one's conscience without being subjected either to any of the limitations based on considerations of public safety, order, health or morals, or to any coercion likely to impair one's freedom of choice or decision in the matter; (b) freedom to manifest one's religion or belief either alone or in community with others, in public as well as in private; and (c) freedom to express opinions on questions concerning a religion or belief. The second part of Article III attempts to determine what these various freedoms mean in practice. It says, for instance, that states parties to the convention shall ensure to everyone the "freedom to worship, to hold assemblies related to religion or belief; to teach, to disseminate and to learn one's religion or belief; to organize and maintain local, regional, national and international associations in connection with one's religion or belief", etc.

Articles IV to XIII develop further the general principles just enunciated and spell out those situations where the state is entitled to intervene to restrict those manifestations of religion or belief which may jeopardize the security or public order of the state. The Commission, however, had no time to devote to their study and decided to postpone their consideration to its twenty-second session next year.

Periodic Reports on Human Rights

Under a reporting system initiated in 1956 by the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General submits to the Commission on Human Rights reports on human rights developments and achievements over three-year periods, as transmitted by member governments. As the Commission had been unable to examine the 1960-62 series of reports, it had decided, in the course of its twentieth session in February and March 1964, to appoint a Committee whose task would be (a) to examine these reports and prepare a general survey of developments in human rights during the period covered by the reports; (b) to recommend a procedure to be followed by the Secretary-General in relation to the comments and observations on human rights matters received from non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council; and (c) to make recommendations on the procedure to be followed with respect to future periodic reports. This Committee met in New York in the autumn of 1964. Its study of the voluminous documentation received from governments indicates that some progress has been achieved in the field of human rights during the period under review and that the trend in the world at large during the same period appears to be to emphasize the evils of racial, religious and other varieties of discrimination and the necessity of improving legislation with a view to protecting the rights of suspects and defendants in criminal proceedings and the rights of labour. With respect to the procedure to be followed by the Secretary-General in relation to the observations on human rights matters sent by the non-governmental organizations, the Committee recommended (a) that these organizations should continue to be invited to submit "information" on the same basis as heretofore; (b) that this information should be made available for comment to those states members of the United Nations that are concerned with it; and (c) that the Commission should establish an *ad hoc* committee composed of persons chosen from among its members to study and evaluate the periodic reports from governments and the various comments thereon, including those of the non-governmental organizations. As to future periodic reports, the Committee proposed the adoption of a system of cyclical reporting whereby governments would be invited to submit annual instead of triennial reports on one of the three sets of rights defined in the Universal Declaration and other documents of the United Nations.

The Commission on Human Rights, at its twenty-first session, adopted the bulk of these recommendations. Many delegations took the opportunity to praise the important part played by the non-governmental organizations in the whole reporting system of the United Nations and in promoting greater respect for human rights.

International Year for Human Rights

At its session in 1963, the General Assembly had designated the year 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights. The Commission, at its twentieth session, had appointed a committee to recommend a programme of measures and activities

to be undertaken by member states, the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and to study the possibility of convening an international conference on human rights in 1968. The Commission devoted a few meetings to the report submitted by this committee and adopted some of the recommendations contained in this report, including the principle of an international conference in 1968. It decided that the aims of such a conference should be:

- (a) to review the progress made in the field of human rights since the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights;
- (b) to develop further and guarantee political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights and eliminate all forms of discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language or religion;
- (c) to evaluate the effectiveness of the methods used by the United Nations in the field of human rights;
- (d) to formulate and prepare a programme of further measures to be taken subsequent to the celebrations of Human Rights Year.

The Commission did not, however, consider questions relating to the duration and venue of the proposed conference, as the terms of reference it had received from the Economic and Social Council in July 1964 had made no mention of such matters. But the resolution that the Commission adopted on the subject invites the Council to give it a mandate to elaborate recommendations in this regard. The same resolution also appoints a working party consisting of all states represented on the Commission to study "the further observances, measures and activities which the Commission should recommend to the General Assembly to be undertaken by the United Nations in celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the proposed International Conference on Human Rights". This working party is to hold its meetings at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York.

Another significant feature of the Commission's final resolution on the topic of the International Year for Human Rights is that governments "are invited to review their national legislation against the standards of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other declarations and instruments of the United Nations relating to human rights, and consider the enactment of new or amending laws to bring their legislation into conformity with the principles of the Declaration and other declarations and instruments of the United Nations relating to human rights".

The report from the Committee on the International Year for Human Rights contains many other interesting suggestions, but the Commission did not have time to examine them in detail and will revert to the subject at its twenty-second session next year.

War Criminals and Crimes Committed Against Humanity

The issue of war criminals has been widely and sometimes passionately discussed in the world press of the past few months. This renewed interest was no doubt

attributable to the fact that national statutes of limitations on the prosecution of crimes committed during the Second World War were to become applicable in the course of 1965 in a number of countries. This question was discussed at some length by the Commission on Human Rights at its twenty-first session. Three draft resolutions were put forward: two by Poland and one by the representatives of Dahomey, Ecuador, France and the Philippines. The first Polish resolution expressed concern that "a great number of Nazi war criminals guilty of the gravest crimes have not as yet been discovered and justly punished by competent courts of law" and urged all states that had not yet done so to "continue their efforts to apprehend and to punish by competent courts of law, in accordance with international and internal laws, all war criminals guilty of the crimes committed during the Second World War and to undertake necessary measures in order to prevent the termination of the legal prosecution of these crimes". The Dahomey-Ecuador-France-Philippines draft resolution requested "the Secretary-General to undertake a study of the problems raised in international law by the question of the punishment of those who have committed war crimes and crimes against humanity, including the problem of the inapplicability of any period of limitation to such crimes". At its meeting on April 5, the Commission decided that a working group, composed of the sponsors of the draft resolutions summarized above and of the representatives of the Ukrainian S.S.R., the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. who had submitted amendments, would be set up to prepare a common draft resolution. The draft resolution that the group elaborated and the Commission adopted unanimously on April 9 requests ECOSOC (a) to ask the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake a study of the problem of war crimes and of crimes committed against humanity, including the aspect of imprescriptibility, and (b) to decide that the Secretary-General's study will form part of the agenda of the twenty-second session of the Commission "as one of the matters of priority".

Among the items postponed for consideration at the twenty-second session of the Commission on Human Rights was the question of how to strengthen the machinery of the United Nations for the implementation of the various conventions adopted in the field of human rights since 1948, including the desirability of establishing an office of a high commissioner for human rights. This question had been introduced by the Costa Rican delegate to the twenty-first session, and a majority of the countries represented on the Commission, including Canada, had voted in favour of this item being inscribed on the agenda. Other items postponed relate to: the right of everyone to be free from arbitrary arrest, detention and exile; freedom of information; capital punishment, and police ethics.

As indicated in the introduction to this article, 1965 is the last year of Canada's three-year term on the Commission. Canada will, however, continue to be interested in the business of the Commission through its membership on the Economic and Social Council, the body to which the Commission reports.



VISIT OF THE EARL OF MOUNTBATTEN

Admiral of the Fleet Earl Mountbatten of Burma (left) called on Prime Minister Pearson (right) on May 20, 1965. Lord Mountbatten, who is Chief of the Defence Staff, was in Ottawa as head of a British mission of inquiry into Commonwealth immigration problems.

Montreal World Exhibition

STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS

On April 22, 1965, the Governor in Council issued Order P.C.1965-709 to govern the granting of certain privileges and immunities and the remission of certain duties and taxes to official foreign participants in the Canadian Universal and International Exhibition of Montreal 1967. The Order takes into account the fact that this event will be held in liaison with the International Bureau of Exhibitions in Paris, an inter-governmental body of which Canada is a member.

Pursuant to this decision, a note was sent by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to the General Manager of the Canadian World Exhibition 1967 Corporation. It conveyed the following statement concerning the status of official participants:

General Status

1. Commissioners general in charge of official foreign pavilions and their deputies will be recognized as officials of foreign governments. Although not enjoying diplomatic status, they will be extended privileges, immunities and courtesies corresponding to their status and responsibilities.
2. Members of the staff of official foreign pavilions will be recognized as having the status of servants of foreign governments and will be granted the corresponding facilities and courtesies.
3. Officials of the International Bureau of Exhibitions attending the Fair will be accorded treatment corresponding to their status as officials of an international organization.

Immunities

4. Commissioners general representing foreign governments, their deputies, and their staffs will enjoy the immunity for their official acts accorded to officials and servants of foreign governments by rules of international law which are part of the domestic law of Canada. They will not be immune from the jurisdiction of Canadian courts nor from law enforcement processes in respect of their private acts.
5. Officials of the International Bureau of Exhibitions will likewise be immune from legal process in respect of all acts performed by them in their official capacity.

Privileges and Facilities

6. (a) A commissioner general representing the government of a foreign country and each member of his staff will not be subject to Canadian income tax on the salary and emoluments paid to each such person by the foreign country, provided that he is a subject or citizen of that country, that

he is not engaged in a business or performing the duties of an office or employment in Canada other than his employment with that country, and that the country in question grants a similar privilege to an officer or servant of Canada of the same class.

- (b) An official of the International Bureau of Exhibitions will be exempt from taxation on the salary and emoluments paid to him by the Bureau, provided that he is not a Canadian citizen, resident or ordinarily resident in Canada.

7. Commissioners general representing foreign governments and their staffs and officials of the International Bureau of Exhibitions may obtain temporary admission of their baggage and personal effects, including an automobile for personal or official use. Where issued, permits are to be renewed at six-month intervals and to be acquitted by exportation of the automobile or other effects not later than seven months following the close of the Exhibition.

8. In addition, commissioners general representing foreign governments and their deputies may purchase spirits and tobacco products duty and tax free by arrangement with the diplomatic or consular mission of their respective countries in Canada.

Courtesies

9. While subject to examination in the ordinary sense, personal baggage will be released with every possible courtesy and consideration.

Inter-Parliamentary Union

THE SPRING MEETINGS of the Inter-Parliamentary Council were held in Dublin, Ireland, from April 19 to 25, 1965, to decide on the agenda for the Fifty-fourth Inter-Parliamentary Conference, which will be held in Ottawa from September 8 to 17, 1965.

A delegation of 11 Canadian Parliamentarians, led by Senator J. M. Desureault and representing all parties in the Senate and the House of Commons, attended the Dublin meetings, which took place at Leinster House, seat of the Irish Parliament.



—Irish Times Photo

Shown in the above photograph (front row, left to right) are: Senator Dessureault; Mr. Herman Batten, M.P.; Mr. Colin Cameron, M.P.; Mr. Eric Winkler, M.P., and Senator T. D. Leonard. In the last row of the balcony (centre rear) is Mr. J. J. Greene, M.P. Members of the delegation not shown in this picture were Senator A. J. Brooks, Opposition Leader in the Senate, Mr. Antoine Belanger, M.P., Mr. Robert M. Coates, M.P., Mr. Maurice Coté, M.P., and Mr. Bernard Pilon, M.P. The delegation staff consisted of Mr. Alcide Paquette, Assistant Clerk of the Senate, and Mr. Ian Imrie, Co-ordinating Secretary for Parliamentary Associations.

Visit of Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency

DR. SIGVARD EKLUND, Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, was guest of honour at a lunch given in Ottawa on May 11, 1965, by the Honourable C. M. Drury, Minister of Industry, in connection with talks with officials about matters concerning the IAEA. The day before, Dr. Eklund had delivered the principal address at the conference of the Canadian Nuclear Association held in Quebec City. Following his discussions in Ottawa, he visited establishments of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited at Toronto, Douglas Point and Chalk River, Ontario, in order to acquaint himself with current developments in the Canadian nuclear-energy programme.



In the above photograph, Dr. Eklund (right) is shown in conversation with Mr. Drury.

External Affairs in Parliament

Review of the International Scene

On May 28, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, contributed the following statement to the supply debate:

I share the view of all Hon. Members in this House as to the importance of a restatement of various aspects of Canadian foreign policy, particularly in the light of current events. It would be difficult, impossible in fact, in the time available to me to cover in their entirety all those aspects of foreign policy which are of interest to the Canadian people.

However, the other day the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition proposed subjects which I think I should attempt to deal with at this time. These included the situation in the United Nations, development in NATO, the situation in Cyprus and, more particularly, the situations in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam. I propose to address myself to these questions. I should hope that at the earliest opportunity, perhaps early next week, the External Affairs Committee might be set up following this debate in order to afford an opportunity for amplification of what I say and to give Hon. Members the opportunity of interrogation in respect of subjects that are understandably agitating the public mind at the present time.

I should like, at the outset, to say something about what I believe is the tragic situation in the United Nations. It would be foolish to deny that the United Nations is passing through a difficult period. The adjournment of the nineteenth session in February came as a shock. The dispute over peace keeping has not been resolved, notwithstanding the state of international anarchy in the world in so many areas. The developing conflict in Vietnam has not been brought before the United Nations. The withdrawal of Indonesia in January was, to say the least, unfortunate.

But it would be wrong to draw unwarranted conclusions from these facts. Looked at in historical perspective, the record of the United Nations is encouraging. After 20 years, the League of Nations collapsed. I believe the United Nations is far from that point. Its principal members, including the Soviet Union, have declared publicly their determination to strengthen the organization, not to leave it. Their disagreements about peace keeping should not obscure the enviable record of the United Nations in this field, including, of course, the successful operations in Cyprus and in Gaza, which are still continuing. All agree to these peace-keeping missions. The argument is about the authorization, control and financing of such operations.

In other fields, the activities of the United Nations are expanding, particularly in the areas of trade and development. The general picture may not be as bad as it has been painted. We should remember that the United Nations can only act in so far as its members wish it to act. If the purposes and policies of the members

conflict on basic issues, the United Nations will move at a slow pace. What we must try to do is narrow the differences that divide us, and we must keep the goal of universal membership firmly before us as a means of strengthening the organization.

I think I may say that I am reasonably optimistic about the negotiations that have been taking place in the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, of which our country is a member. There are two parts to the problem. One is to restore the United Nations to solvency. There is a resolution now before the Committee which requests the Secretary-General to make an appeal for the necessary funds, something over \$100 million. Only this week the Soviet Union said it would make a voluntary contribution provided the question of Article 19 was set aside.

I shall simply say that the view of Canada with regard to that situation is not to be described in precisely the same terms that it was last fall. The United States has agreed to contribute provided those countries in arrears pay their debts. Clearly the question, however, is not one of money. What seems to be required is agreement in principle that the question of solvency takes precedence over political disputes about responsibility for past debts. Canada will be ready to contribute its share at the appropriate time. The United Nations must not be denied the opportunity of functioning in the difficult situations that confront us at the present time.

The second part of the problem is to agree on future arrangements for peace keeping. Some members of the Committee claim that we should settle this problem first. Our view has been that the two problems are linked and we would prefer to see them settled together. But if this is not possible in the time available — and we only have until the 1st of September — then we should be prepared to have the financial question treated separately.

As regards the future, we have maintained that it is important to maintain two principles. First, the General Assembly must have the power to act in emergencies if the permanent members of the Security Council are divided on what action to take. Second, we must proceed in these matters on the basis of the broadest possible consensus of the membership so that financial responsibility can be shared on some equitable basis. I remain hopeful that, if not agreed on in theory, these principles can be accepted in practice; but it is too early to say what kind of compromise will be worked out between the various points of view.

Canada has always had, and continues to have, a special interest in matters having to do with peace keeping. That is not because we think we have any special mission to preach but because we have been in a position to help, and have tried to help ever since our first term on the Security Council, from 1948 to 1950. Last November, it will be recalled, we convened a meeting in Ottawa of experts from 22 countries to consider the technical aspects of peace keeping. The meeting was a first step toward better co-ordination of planning among governments which have made major contributions to UN peace-keeping operations.

The adjournment of the last Assembly prevented us from following up this

first step in the way we should have liked, but we have not forgotten the importance of doing so. We have been studying the practical aspects of Canada's role in this field. We have kept in close touch with the UN Secretariat on this subject and, keeping in mind the desirability of not infringing on the work of the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, we hope to make suggestions for specific improvements in advance planning for peace-keeping operations at the appropriate moment. I myself was recently at the United Nations, and consulted the Secretary-General with regard to some of these matters. I regret very much he was not able to come here last week, as he had hoped he would be able to do, for the purpose of continuing his conversations with the Prime Minister and myself.

Now there can be no doubt about the need for strengthening the United Nations in the face of the situation that faces us in the world today. We are confronted with some of the most serious international problems in our time and the United Nations is not able, because of intransigence on the part of certain countries, to discharge its responsibilities in the way intended by those who affixed their signatures in 1945 to the Charter of the United Nations intended.

We have all been concerned about problems in Latin America. An outstanding feature of the events in the Dominican Republic is the state of confusion which has prevailed there from the outset. This element of obscurity has clouded the aims and the activities of many of the Dominican leaders and political groups. It was to ensure that we had the fullest possible information concerning these complex and disturbing developments that we asked Mr. Michel Gauvin, one of our senior officers in the Department of External Affairs, to go to Santo Domingo early in the crisis as a special observer to supplement the work of our mission.

The landing of U.S. troops has been the subject of controversy both within and without Latin America. Many Canadians were living in the capital of the Dominican Republic, and the Canadian Government was most grateful for the facilities provided by the U.S. for the protection and evacuation of the nationals of many countries, including Canada, following the breakdown of law and order in Santo Domingo. No one can say it was the fault of the United States that the existing international machinery, which the United States has done so much to create and strengthen since World War II, was inadequate when the Dominican situation arose.

It is easy enough to criticize countries which bear the brunt of responsibility when dangerous situations develop. Such criticism might best be directed at the imperfections in our international arrangements. Unilateral intervention, however, is bound to create anxiety, and it should be our object to work out arrangements which might make unilateral action unnecessary in the future. This was the position that Canada had taken in the recent past. It is the only position I believe we can consistently take at the present time.

Clearly, one of the most important lessons for the international community arising from the crisis in the Dominican Republic is the need for improved arrangements for consultation and action. Whatever one may think of the events which

have taken place in the Dominican Republic since April 24, the important fact now is that we have reached the point where the United Nations and the Organization of American States have acted and are continuing to act in an attempt to establish and maintain a cessation of hostilities in Santo Domingo. A fragile, *de facto* cease-fire is now in effect, but the news I have this morning certainly is not encouraging.

A multilateral inter-American armed force has been created by the Organization of American States, the object of which is the restoration of normal conditions and the establishment of an atmosphere of conciliation permitting the peaceful functioning of democratic institutions, which have yet to strike firm roots in that country.

According to reports which I have received from Mr. Gauvin, efforts are now continuing in Santo Domingo, despite serious difficulties, to form a compromise government that might command the general confidence and broad support of the Dominican people. The Secretary-General of the Organization of American States and the personal delegate of the Secretary-General of the United Nations are now both actively engaged in this endeavour. We are keeping in close touch with these activities through our special representative on the spot, our mission in the United Nations, and our Embassy in Washington; but I must say that the future is by no means assured. Even this morning, the report I received from Santo Domingo emphasizes the difficulties and uncertainties which, I regret to say, continue to exist.

It is to be hoped that the work of economic and political reconstruction required in the Dominican Republic can shortly move ahead with the assistance and co-operation of all countries interested in the welfare of the Dominican people. The part which Canada might play in this period of rehabilitation and accelerated economic and social development is something to which the Government will naturally give consideration.

There are lessons for all of us to learn from this crisis. In particular, it is evident that we of the West are endangering our own future if we do nothing about the economic stagnation and political frustration that can produce the kind of situation which provided the background for the trouble in the Dominican Republic.

It is also evident that we need effective arrangements for consultation and action. In the months ahead we should endeavour to try to improve these arrangements. We would, of course, wish to avoid interference with necessary social and economic changes in individual countries. If unilateral intervention is to be avoided in the future, it is important that the international community be properly equipped to discuss and deal with situations appropriate for international action. . . .

The Security Council has now adjourned its debate. Before doing so, however, it called for a cease-fire and authorized the Secretary-General to send a representative to the spot. These actions illustrate the continuing vitality of the United Nations; for, despite the bitterness and confusion engendered by the situation in the Dominican Republic, there can be no denial that the United Nations is playing

a helpful role in bringing about the conditions which may lead to a settlement of the dispute.

I have no wish to ignore or disparage the part played in this situation by the Organization of American States. I see the roles of the two organizations as complementary. Article 52 of the Charter specifically enjoins the members of the United Nations to "make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through regional arrangements or by regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council" and further requires that the Security Council itself shall encourage the pacific settlement of disputes through such means.

It is not surprising that the Soviet Union, which brought this matter to the Council table, should have introduced a resolution calling upon the United States to withdraw its forces. What is significant is that this resolution received only one vote, that of the Soviet Union. It is true the Council did not specifically endorse the establishment of an inter-American force. It was clear that such endorsement would have been blocked by the Soviet Union. But I am sure we would all wish to see this force carry out successfully its functions of bringing peace and stability to the Dominican Republic. What is important in situations of this kind is that peace-keeping arrangements undertaken by regional agencies should at all times be consistent with the purpose and principles of the United Nations. I am sure it was this essential point that the framers of the Charter had in mind when they envisaged the delegation of authority to regional agencies.

I wish to say . . . that we continue to believe in the need for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We believe that only through a collective defence organization such as NATO can we provide for our national security in the nuclear and space age. We have never regarded NATO, however, solely as a military alliance, but rather as the first step in the development of a partnership of like-minded nations on both sides of the Atlantic. This transatlantic partnership offers the best hope for the smaller powers of NATO such as Canada to be able to play their individual and responsible roles within the Western community.

There have been many changes inside and outside NATO since 1949, and it is essential for the Alliance so to organize itself as to be sufficiently flexible to meet these new challenges. Canada has taken the initiative in urging in NATO that member states examine together the future of the Alliance, bearing in mind the changed international circumstances since 1949 and the common objectives and purposes that hold us together. NATO has commenced this examination, and all members of the Alliance are participating in it. I stress "all" because of the many press reports which allege that France is about to leave NATO. Canada regards the contribution of France as essential to our Alliance, and I for one cannot conceive of an effective NATO in which France did not participate in a manner appropriate to her position in the world.

One of the major problems facing NATO is how to meet the legitimate desire of some of the European members to take a greater share in NATO nuclear planning and strategy without proliferation of national nuclear forces. Some

member states have suggested a multilateral nuclear force; the British Government has proposed an Atlantic nuclear force based on "forces in being". Canada, for its part, prefers this problem to be dealt with in NATO, not in restricted groupings, and has suggested re-examining existing NATO machinery and agreements to identify those areas where there could be a greater degree of sharing in the military direction of the Alliance.

Those interested in the multilateral force and in the Atlantic nuclear force have asked Canada to join their discussions, and this invitation is now under consideration by the Government. Of course if we do participate, it will be without commitment. In formulating our decision, we shall have to balance the need to protect our national interests, since this group could reach decisions affecting Canadian forces in being, with our preference for discussion of Alliance nuclear problems in the full NATO forum itself.

Consultation on political problems outside and inside the Alliance is the essence of the day-to-day work of NATO. These consultations are generally frank, certainly wide-ranging, and go well beyond mere formal statements of official government positions. It will be recalled that in 1956 the "Three Wise Men" were concerned at the lack of exchange of ideas on political problems in NATO. We have come a long way since then, and I was particularly struck two weeks ago in London by the frankness of the discussion on the difficult subjects that faced us. I may say that NATO is no longer an alliance which is concerned only with the problems of Europe. Inevitably now, because of the interdependence in this nuclear period, the Organization is concerned with problems throughout the world.

I know all Members of the House are deeply concerned by the situation as it has been developing in Vietnam. I need hardly say that I share this concern, as do my colleagues who have responsibility for formulating Government policy with respect to this situation. I do not think it is too much to say that this situation, with its attendant dangers, is one of the most serious the world has faced since the end of the Second World War.

We in the Government have long recognized that a solution to this situation by military means alone is not practicable. It is obvious that negotiations will be required, in the interests of Asia and in the interests of world peace. It was for this reason that Canada welcomed President Johnson's offer of April 7 to negotiate with any government, and without pre-conditions.

I may say that the efforts of the Government of Canada have been concentrated on finding a way to get negotiations started. First of all, early in the conflict, I suggested that there be a cease-fire, whether by mutual agreement or by tacit acceptance. We have suggested a conference on Laos, itself the product of the Geneva discussions in 1954, as a means of enabling the parties to the conflict in Vietnam to establish a channel of negotiations. Similarly, we have suggested that advantage might be taken of a conference in Cambodia for that purpose.

I now join with others who this very day are engaged in trying to bring this conference about. We regard this meeting as possibly affording an opportunity for

the kind of outside, or "corridor", discussions that might provide a basis for the negotiations that sooner or later, if we are to avoid catastrophe, must take place.

We have, of course, wholeheartedly supported the idea of unconditional negotiations in any form. We were the first country to welcome the essence of the appeal made by the unaligned nations which had shortly before assembled in Belgrade. Our reaction was reiterated by the President of the United States when he accepted the suggestion that there should be negotiations, and without preconditions.

I have recently discussed the problems of launching negotiations with the Secretary-General of the United Nations himself. I expressed the hope that the full force of the office of Secretary-General was being used in this seriously developing situation. I found that he was doing everything within the limits of his office to prepare the ground for contact between parties to the conflict in Vietnam. Unfortunately, the results of his efforts are bound to be limited by the completely negative attitude of the Chinese and North Vietnamese. U Thant is an Asian, respected all through Asia; but I think it will be recognized that, as a spokesman for the United Nations, he is not necessarily *persona grata* with all the nations in Asia, and particularly with some of them who are not within the membership of that body. However, I am able to say that the Secretary-General has been using and is continuing to use his high office and his great authority for the achievement of peace.

Canada took the initiative in suggesting that a pause in the bombings of North Vietnam at an appropriate time might encourage that country to enter into negotiations. One attempt along these lines has recently been made, unfortunately with negative results. The other day, at the NATO ministerial meeting in London, I was informed by the Secretary of State of the United States, before the pause took place, of the intention of the President and the Government of the United States to embark on this course. I regret to say that, notwithstanding the efforts on the part of a number of countries, there was no reaction from North Vietnam with respect to this particular act on the part of the Government of the United States.

I should like to say something about our assessment of the forces at work in this tragic situation. For more than ten years now, we in Canada have had first-hand experience of what is happening in Vietnam, in Indochina, through the presence of our observers on the International Commissions. We know the North Vietnamese have taken advantage of social discontents to pose as the effective leaders of a reform movement. We know that, by resorting to terrorism and blackmail, they were able to establish control over large segments of the population and to organize the Viet Cong into an instrument of aggression directed, encouraged and supported on a grand scale since 1956 by men and equipment from the north. We believe there are at present over 35,000 highly-trained guerrillas who have been infiltrated into the South from the North.

The International Commission officially reported to the two Co-Chairmen in June 1962 that the North Vietnamese were guilty of these aggressive acts. The

basis for this finding was a study made by Indian and Canadian legal experts, and quotations from their study were included in the statement of the Canadian delegation on February 13 last. The Polish representative refused to participate in the later stages of this study.

It is clear that the Vietnamese problem goes well beyond the borders of the country itself. On the one hand, we have the aggressive form of Communism which sees wars that favour its purposes as "just wars". On the other we have the determination of the United States, for one, not to allow this aggression to be profitable, and the determination of the people of South Vietnam to decide on their own future. The proof of this is in the casualties borne every week by the South Vietnamese soldiers and their continuing will to fight nevertheless.

Some people in this country . . . appear to be advocating that the United States simply get out of Vietnam. I wonder whether these people have really thought through what this would mean. . . .

If the United States withdraws from Vietnam, how far is it to withdraw? Does it mean that Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia, to mention only three of the nations most directly affected, are to be left to fend for themselves with nothing between them and an expansionist China? What about India, which has already had a bitter taste of China's expansionism? What is to happen to Australia and New Zealand? The responsible ministers in those countries have carefully weighed the consequences which would flow from any United States defeat or withdrawal, and those who would have the United States withdraw could profitably read what the responsible ministers have had to say on behalf of their governments about them.

I should like to recall to the House the words, in part, of the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Australia in the Parliament of that country on March 23 of this year. He outlined the policy of his Government with regard to this delicate situation and urged that the Government's recommendation for the dispatch of a battalion to Vietnam be accepted by the Australian Parliament. Here is what Mr. Hasluck had to say:

If the United States did withdraw, the same conflict would be renewed somewhere else. Within a brief period the struggle now taking place in South Vietnam would be shifted to Thailand. If there was abandonment of Thailand, it would shift to Malaysia — to Indonesia, to Burma, to India and further. Nothing would be ended and no stability would be achieved by yielding in South Vietnam.

Australia's own analysis of the situation has brought us to the belief that the United States action is necessary for the defeat of aggression against Asian peoples and is also an essential step toward the building in Asia of the conditions of peace and progress. We also believe that in their resistance to China they are preventing an alternative in the world balance of power which would be in favour of the Communists and which would increase the risk of the world war.

Then, two days ago, in the Parliament of New Zealand, the Prime Minister of that country, Mr. Holyoake, in urging the adoption of that Government's proposal for the dispatch of an artillery unit to Vietnam, said specifically:

My last point is this — and don't let anyone have any doubts about it — if South Vietnam falls to the Communists it will then be the turn of Thailand and Malaysia and every other smaller country in the region.

In this eventuality the threat to New Zealand would be that much closer to home. If we are not prepared to play our part now, can we in good conscience expect our allies to help later on?

Those are the words of the head of the Government of New Zealand and the Secretary of State for External Affairs in Australia. They are words which speak for themselves and represent the concern of the people in these two Commonwealth countries with regard to this situation.

Canada's position with regard to the dispatch of troops has been stated by myself on a number of occasions in this House. Our commitments do not go beyond our membership in the International Control and Supervisory Commission in Vietnam. Any obligations that we have in this context arise, of course, only under the Charter of the United Nations. But I think that any assessment of the position I, as Secretary of State for External Affairs, must take should be based upon a consideration of the position of these countries, and of others, in relation to this developing situation.

But I would go beyond what I have said, and ask what the proposed withdrawal of the United States would really mean to Canada. Do we want the United States to base its policies of defence exclusively around the North American continent, while abandoning the remaining countries of the world to shift for themselves individually? Would we favour the probability that some present allies of the United States, left outside Fortress America, would want to develop their own nuclear capability, with the result that nuclear weapons would be widely spread and the danger of war increased?

The Soviet leaders are now criticizing the high-risk policy of the Communist Chinese leaders. What would be the effect on Soviet policy if the Chinese People's Republic were to prove vindicated in its interpretation of the way to deal with the rest of the world?

I think the answers to these questions are obvious. If aggression is not brought under control in Vietnam, can we seriously expect that similar situations will not arise elsewhere? I ask the Members of this House to think of the situation in Europe following the end of the Second World War — circumstances that prompted the Prime Minister of Canada, then the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to promote the idea of a North Atlantic Treaty Alliance. Consider the successful results of the establishment of NATO itself.

Aggression must not be allowed to succeed. The international community must not abdicate its responsibilities in this situation. Our objective is negotiation for peace, without any pre-conditions, leading toward the establishment of an independent or neutral Vietnam; but there must be guarantees to make sure that this independence or neutrality is maintained. That can only be done, as the Prime Minister stated in New York two months ago, through an assumption of responsibility by the international community.

So far the North Vietnamese and their allies do not show any sign of readiness to abandon their policy of subversion and indirect aggression in favour of nego-

tiation. Indeed, at the moment they are taking a harder line than ever. What they hope to do is to spread dissension in the free world, to divide the United States from its allies — from Canada, from Britain, from the members of the NATO Alliance and from others linked with the cause of a free world — and to sap the will of those who are offering resistance. This is something about which all of us in this House, thinking of our own security if nothing else, must always be mindful. We cannot, however, assume that North Vietnam and its allies will always remain obdurate. We must keep alert for any sign of change. That is what the Government of Canada is doing. We have not got the same responsibility as some other powers, but as a nation in the NATO Alliance, as a nation in the Commonwealth, as a close neighbour of the United States, and as a nation that is dedicated to the preservation of peace, we shall watch for any sign of change. We shall do whatever we can to use that sign as a means of launching discussions that might well mean the cessation of war. The willingness to enter into genuine negotiations at any time cannot be too often repeated.

Let us be clear about the following points. There is no intention on the part of the West to overthrow the regime in North Vietnam or in Communist China. I hope that these words of mine will not be misunderstood by those who are for or against the position which I have taken today. There is no Western desire for permanent military bases in Vietnam, and this I can say with assurance. There is no Western desire to thrust any particular form of government on the people of South Vietnam. There is no desire of which I am aware to include South Vietnam in any pro-Western alliance. I have just said that the position we took with regard to Laos is the position we are taking with regard to Vietnam; these countries should enjoy independence and should enjoy, if you will, a neutral position such as that suggested by General de Gaulle, but with guarantees that will ensure us that there will not be a repetition of what happened following the Geneva Conference of 1954. It must be clear to the whole world, including Communist China and its friends, that small countries have the same right to independence as the Chinese themselves. The countries lying farther from Communist China must be spared the agony of suffering in their turn what the South Vietnamese people have had to bear.

Let me make it clear, then, what the Canadian position is. Our objective is a cease-fire; our objective is negotiation at any place, at any time, provided such negotiation is directed towards an equitable settlement. My understanding of United States policy is that it subscribes fully to this position.

This situation in Indochina, an area of the world far removed from Canada, an area not known to Canadians, except now through our association as members of the International Control and Supervisory Commission, typifies the kind of world in which we live — a world of interdependence and a world in which no nation can act entirely alone if it values its security and its integrity, and if it wishes to see the world move forward in peace.

This situation in Vietnam is undoubtedly worrying. It is worrying not only to

one side, but also must be worrying to all sides and to all who want to see war as an instrument of international policy eliminated as a means of settling disputes between nations. What I have said today has been carefully considered not only by myself but by my colleagues and by those in my department. Our ambassadors abroad in their consultations with other countries have given their considered judgment of the situation. What I have said should be read along with what I have said on previous occasions. It should also be read in conjunction with what the Prime Minister has said both inside and outside this House.

Now another question to be considered is that of disarmament. Discussions on disarmament are currently centred in the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which has been meeting in New York for the last five weeks. Aside from the distractions caused by the efforts of the Russians and their allies to use the Disarmament Commission as a platform for propaganda attacks on the Federal Republic of Germany and on United States and British policies in Southeast Asia, it has on the whole been a useful session.

In particular, the discussion in the Disarmament Commission has revealed two broad concerns as being uppermost in the minds of the greater part of the membership of the United Nations — namely, the need for the elaboration of measures to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons and the desirability of convening a world disarmament conference as a possible method of associating Communist China with disarmament negotiations.

Earlier this month in Geneva, I advanced the thought that the simple and limited reciprocal undertakings of the well-known Irish Resolution in the General Assembly of 1961 might well serve as the foundation for a system of supplementary measures to prevent a wider spread of nuclear weapons. Those measures, I suggested, might include the extension of the present IAEA safeguard procedures, and the creation of some supplementary mechanism which would deal with situations when there has been an alleged transfer of control of nuclear weapons to a hitherto non-nuclear state. I proposed the provision of a credible deterrent or guarantee against nuclear attack for those unaligned and neutral nations which pledge themselves to forgo the option of acquiring a national nuclear capability in the future. I might say that we in Canada have incorporated some of these ideas in a draft non-dissemination agreement which we are currently discussing informally through diplomatic channels. Although there are considerable difficulties which would stand in the way of the development and realization of those measures, I nevertheless believe they represent the direction in which we should try to work. Meanwhile, in the light of recent advances in the technique of seismic recording and analysis, and provided the requirements for at least some “on-site” inspection can once again be accepted in principle by all concerned, it may be possible to arrive at a comprehensive test-ban agreement, that is, one including underground tests.

In so far as a world disarmament conference is concerned, as I said of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, to which the 114 member states of the

United Nations belong, I think experience indicates that disarmament discussions are more efficient in a smaller group. A growing number of non-aligned nations nevertheless believe that a world conference, analogous to last year's United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, would serve a purpose. In addition to providing a means for Communist China to participate in disarmament discussions (whether China would, in fact, attend such a conference is another thing again), those non-aligned nations consider that a world conference would provide powerful support for the efforts currently being made to set the process of disarmament in motion.

Regardless of the decision eventually taken about the holding of a world disarmament conference, the Canadian Government hopes it will prove possible to return to detailed disarmament discussions in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva this summer. However, much depends upon the Soviet Union, which, perhaps only for tactical reasons, has currently taken the position that it is interested in going back to Geneva only on its own terms. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to be able to report that the non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, like their Western colleagues, are anxious for an early resumption of that conference.

I made a brief report the other day on my talks with Archbishop Makarios and Dr. Kuchuk, the Vice-President in the Government of Cyprus.⁽¹⁾ I went to Cyprus primarily for one purpose. That was to salute, in the name of the Government and this Parliament and the people of Canada, the Canadian contingent in the United Nations Force, and to salute the United Nations Force itself. I told the House that I was proud of the contribution made by Canada to the United Nations Force. I want to say that I am equally proud of the contribution to pacification made on that beautiful, legendary but troubled little island by the forces of the United Nations.

Over a year ago, we in this House, practically with unanimity, decided to send a Canadian stand-by force to contribute to this particular international force. We have had our problems with regard to this particular situation. Special emphasis has been placed from time to time on the difficulties that the Force was experiencing in the face of overwhelming armed might on both sides in Cyprus. But, surely, no one can now doubt, whatever may have been the difficulties, that the United Nations Force, to which Canada has made a notable contribution, has been an indispensable factor in the preservation of peace on that island, and has been responsible, in consequence, for preventing an extension of the conflict that might well have gone to the very heart of NATO, and which might well have affected the peace of the world.

I made it clear when I had my talks with Archbishop Makarios that I was there as the agent of no one, that I had not gone there as the agent of NATO and that we recognized that the question of mediation was one to be determined by the

⁽¹⁾See Page 216 of this issue of *External Affairs*.

United Nations Mediator appointed, with exclusive authority, by the Security Council of the United Nations. But I did urge, and I now urge, the parties on the island to accept at least the procedural recommendation of the Mediator, which was to begin talks to lead to a solution of this problem.

I have seen it suggested that NATO has sought to interpose itself in this matter. Of course NATO has discussed the problem of Cyprus, but the problem of Cyprus has been discussed by NATO not in relation to the assumption by NATO of the function of the Mediator appointed by the United Nations but only in respect of any possible involvement of two of the Mediterranean members of NATO, Greece and Turkey, with respect to this situation. I am happy to say that the Canadian delegation at the recent NATO meeting was able to play some part, along with other countries, in bringing together the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey. There is reason to believe that the talks which began in London are proceeding along constructive lines.

But I should not want the Government of Cyprus to think for one moment that this Government is not cognizant of the fact that, in the final analysis, the solution rests with the people of Cyprus. Suggestions for a solution may be made but, in the final analysis, those suggestions remain to be accepted or rejected by the authorities on the island of Cyprus. I do strongly express the view, on behalf of a country that voluntarily submitted itself to engagement in this project and which is paying the entire cost of the maintenance of its armed forces there, because of the financial situation in the United Nations, that it is in the interests of the island itself, in the interests of peace and in the interests of the effectiveness of the United Nations that a solution be worked out by pacific means. Any continuation of conflict in this situation will not solve the problem, no matter from which quarter the initiative leading toward conflict might come. I have reasonable prospects for believing that this difficult situation, born in the roots of a long history and affecting so deeply the peace of the world, may yet be remedied. If this happens, our soldiers will feel they have been engaged in a noble purpose, and the United Nations may then chalk up another achievement, under the Charter, in dealing with situations that threaten the peace. . . .

I conclude where I began, with the United Nations. Canada believes firmly that the United Nations represents one of the cornerstones in our foreign policy, along with NATO, our membership in the Commonwealth, and our propinquity to the United States. It is a tragedy that, for two years now, the United Nations has not been fully able, on the political side, to deal with substantive questions. That is because of the financial situation which confronts the organization at the present time.

I am the only man in this House who was ever a delegate to the League of Nations. I was a delegate to the second-last General Assembly of the League of Nations. I saw that organization wither and disappear from the international scene as an effective instrument. It was followed by the greatest and the most catastrophic world war in human history. While the Second World War was yet on, the

leaders of the allies decided once again to try to set up a collective security organization to minimize the occasion for war and maintain the peace.

The United Nations has now functioned for 20 years. It has already outlived the League of Nations and yet, at this time, it is faced with very serious problems. The UN might well be irrevocably harmed unless the problems involved in the constitutional controversy and the financial situation are resolved.

Let there be no mistake about this: The Government of this country has done everything that it can, by way of negotiations in the United Nations with other countries, to try to resolve the problem of indebtedness, and to deal with the problem of the future so that we should have a commitment for shared responsibility in respect of peace keeping. That continues to be our purpose.

As we survey the situation in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic, and now the incidents in the Middle East, we should wish that the United Nations were strong enough, capable of being utilized as an instrument to deal with these situations so as to discourage the intervention of individual nations, large or small. The future of the world, the future peace of the world, depends on the successful functioning of the United Nations.

I join with the Secretary-General, who said last night:

There are numerous factors which contribute to our shortcomings, not the least of which is the reluctance of governments to use the available United Nations machinery for the purposes for which it was designed, and to subscribe wholeheartedly, by actions as well as by words, to the general objectives and ideals of the Charter.

I know well that such a practical commitment to the Charter is easier to talk about than to act on. Nonetheless, the Charter is, I believe, the only reliable road to international peace and security which is at present open to the nations of the world.

Those are the views of the Secretary-General. Those are the views of the Government of Canada. Those, I believe, are the views of the majority of the people of our country. This Government, like its predecessor, has done everything it can to bring about the realization of this great and necessary objective.

Cyprus Visit by Mr. Martin

The Minister's account to the House of Commons on May 14 of this visit will be found on Page 215.

NATO Ministerial Meeting

The following statement was made to the House of Commons by Mr. Martin on May 14:

. . . In accordance with the practice established by my predecessors, I should like to make a brief report on the ministerial meeting of NATO which was held in London this week. . . .

The NATO meetings in London provided an opportunity for an important and timely review of current problems. There was frankness and understanding; and, despite the differences which admittedly exist in national viewpoints on some questions, I came away encouraged by the degree of basic cohesion and goodwill among members of the Alliance. This meeting was a good example of the growing fact of NATO consultation. I can do no more than all my predecessors have done in reporting on these NATO meetings — that is, to respect the confidential nature of the discussions, which of course embraced vital problems of interest and concern within and beyond the NATO area. NATO now is concerned inevitably with issues of a global character, and Canada, as a founder member of NATO, is profoundly concerned with the future of the transatlantic Alliance.

Last December, on Canadian initiative, it was agreed that, in view of fundamental changes since 1949 inside and outside the Alliance, the time had now come for NATO countries to consider the future of their association and the common purposes and objectives which keep the Alliance together. Our purpose was to encourage other NATO members to examine the kind of Alliance that could continue to provide security for its members yet be sufficiently flexible to cope successfully with changed conditions.

At the recent meeting in London, this study was given further impetus, and there is now a possibility that the future of the Alliance will be the subject of continuing discussion in the Permanent Council and at the ministerial meeting next December in Paris, if this seems appropriate. I use the latter phrase “if this seems appropriate” advisedly, because it would be regrettable if any issue were raised which might cause any measure of serious disunity within the Alliance itself.

On my way from Cyprus to London, I was very glad to be able to open officially the Canadian Consulate General in Marseilles under Mr. Eugène Bussière.

In addition to visiting Cyprus and attending the NATO meeting, I had the benefit of discussions with the French Foreign Minister, M. Couve de Murville, as well as with the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Stewart, whom I met for the first time, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Bottomley, and Mr. Anthony Greenwood, the Colonial Secretary, with whom I discussed Commonwealth Caribbean questions. I profited greatly from these talks, which ranged widely over topics of mutual interest. I also held useful talks with a group of Canadian heads of diplomatic missions who had assembled to discuss matters of importance concerning Western Europe.

From these talks I have returned convinced that, despite present differences in the Western community, there is a serious common determination to consider how NATO could adjust to changing circumstances. There can be no doubt about the need for preserving this Alliance in the present state of the world.

Asked on May 14 whether he had, during the recent NATO ministerial meeting in London, advanced “the proposal of the Canadian Government, announced over two years ago, to negotiate out of the nuclear role within the NATO Alliance and within NORAD”, Mr. Martin replied:

. . . The conference was a meeting of foreign ministers. The defence ministers will be meeting at the end of this month. The conference, of course, was not the particular milieu in which, even if there had been the desired disposition and occasion, to raise such an interesting question.

To a question "whether the proposal for a multi-national nuclear force was discussed at the NATO meeting and, if so, whether any decision was made in regard to proceeding with it, or of substituting for it the British proposal in regard to a force of this kind", the Minister answered:

. . . The reply I have just made would partially apply to the question . . . There was no discussion in the ministerial meetings on this question, but . . . a working group which has been established has before it for consideration two multilateral forces, an allied nuclear force proposed by Her Majesty's Government in Britain and the United States proposal for a multilateral force, which has undergone some modification. Canada has been asked to take part in the deliberations of this working committee but, as the invitation reached us only four or five days before the meeting was called, the Government has not yet had the opportunity of deciding whether it will participate.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

International Labour Conference 49th Session: Geneva, June 2-25

FAO Committee on Commodity Problems, 38th Session: Rome, June 7-18

OECD Ministers of Agriculture: Paris, June 17-18

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference: London, June 17-25

FAO Council, 44th Session: Rome, June 21

International Civil Aviation Organization Assembly, 15th Session: Montreal, June 22 - July 19

Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH), 8th General Assembly: Guatemala, June 25 - July 10

Economic and Social Council, 39th Session: Geneva, June 30 - July 30

3rd UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders: Stockholm, August 9-18

UNCTAD: Second Session of the Trade and Development Board, Geneva, August 24 - September 14

World Population Conference: Belgrade, August 30 - September 10

UN General Assembly, resumed Nineteenth Session, New York, September 1

International Atomic Energy Agency, Ninth General Conference: Tokyo, September 20-30

International Telecommunications Union Plenipotentiary Conference: Montreux, September-November

UN General Assembly, Twentieth Session, New York, September 21

FAO Biennial Conference: Rome, November-December 1965

Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Karachi, November 15 - December 2.

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. W. F. S. Beattie posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to Ottawa, effective April 1, 1965.
- Mr. G. I. Warren posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to Ottawa, effective April 15, 1965.
- Mr. C. J. Webster posted from Ottawa to the Canadian delegation to the ICSC, Phnom Penh, effective April 18, 1965.
- Mr. E. Bussiere appointed Canadian Consul General, Marseille, effective April 24, 1965.
- Mr. J. R. Roy posted from the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective May 2, 1965.
- Miss M. P. Shea posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective May 3, 1965.
- Mr. C. E. McGaughey posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective May 5, 1965.
- Mr. R. C. D. Looye appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective May 10, 1965.
- Mr. J. T. Boehm appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 10, 1965.
- Mr. P. J. A. Hancock posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective May 11, 1965.
- Mr. C. V. Svoboda posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective May 11, 1965.
- Mr. J. M. Dery posted from the Canadian delegation to the ICSC, Phnom Penh, to Ottawa, effective May 14, 1965.
- Mr. S. H. Heeney posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, effective May 14, 1965.
- Miss M. R. Vezina posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kingston, effective May 15, 1965.
- Mr. P. Resnick appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 17, 1965.
- Mr. T. W. Plumptre appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 17, 1965.
- Miss C. Gillies posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, effective May 18, 1965.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Spain

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Spain for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Signed at Ottawa September 8, 1964.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Madrid May 14, 1965.

Entered into force May 14, 1965.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Protocol renewing the Trade Agreement between Canada and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed on February 29, 1956, and renewed on April 18, 1960.

Signed at Ottawa September 16, 1963.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Moscow May 12, 1965.

Entered into force definitively May 12, 1965.

United States of America

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the establishment, operation and maintenance of a torpedo test range in the Strait of Georgia.

Ottawa May 12, 1965.

Entered into force May 12, 1965.

Multilateral

International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1960.

Done at London June 17, 1960.

Signed by Canada June 17, 1960.

Canadian Instrument of Acceptance deposited May 26, 1965.

Entered into force May 16, 1965.

Publication

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 9. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America providing for the continuation in force beyond April 1, 1964, of the Agreement recorded in the Exchange of Notes of July 3 and 13, 1962, in relation to the Welland Canal. Ottawa, March 31, 1964. Entered into force March 31, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 10. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for the establishment of minimum prices for cereals imported into the United Kingdom from Canada. London, April 15, 1964. Entered into force April 15, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 11. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Peru Constituting an Agreement Permitting Amateur Radio Stations of Canada and Peru to Exchange Messages or Other Communications from or to Third Parties. Lima May 8, 1964. Entered into force May 8, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 12. Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Regarding the Terms and Conditions of Service of Canadian Armed Forces Personnel on Secondment to the Nigerian Armed Forces. Signed at Lagos June 25, 1964. Entered into force June 25, 1964, with effect from June 16, 1964.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII No. 7

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The Facts About Vietnam

The following statement on the subject of Vietnam was made in the Standing Committee for External Affairs on June 10, 1965, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin:

I should like to say something about Vietnam, which is the most important subject facing us at the present time. In the House of Commons, on Friday a week ago, I did amplify the Government's position on this subject. However, there was then a limited opportunity for doing so and there was no opportunity for interrogation or for rebuttal. Therefore, with your permission, this morning I might deal with the Vietnamese situation. I should want to provide a rebuttal of some of the things that have been said about this situation, not by way of polemic but by way of exposition, so that we will have as objective a picture of this critical situation as I think we should have. If this proposal is satisfactory, Mr. Chairman, I shall proceed on that basis.

I welcome this opportunity of outlining our thinking on the problem in Vietnam, where the world is confronted with one of the most complex and dangerous situations we have seen in many years. We are aware, of course, of the great concern in our country and elsewhere at the danger that the continuation of the policies now being pursued in Vietnam by the principal parties could lead to a general conflict.

Canada's Freedom of Manoeuvre

As far as Canada is concerned, we are not directly involved in this crisis as one of the protagonists, and this, together with our independent position in Vietnam, gives us a certain freedom of manoeuvre, which we have attempted to use as wisely and constructively as we know how in the interests of world peace. On repeated occasions we have joined in appeals to all sides for restraint. We have done this with the proviso that the appeal be directed equally to all those involved. It was our view, and continues to be our view, that, if these appeals were heeded, they could lead to a downward trend in hostilities or even a *de facto* cease-fire, which, either prior to or during a conference, would have a tranquillizing effect on the situation and act as a stimulus to constructive discussion.

We have also explored the possibilities of preliminary contacts which might be provided in the corridors of a conference, let us say, on Laos, a smaller Indochina country or, as more recently suggested, at a conference on Cambodia. It is regrettable that the Soviet Union, among others, has not been willing to follow up its earlier interest in this latter idea and to move forward on the basis of the agreement of the British and United States governments to participate in such a conference.

More than that, we have been taking our own quiet soundings of opinion, probing the positions of the interested parties, to see whether there is any common

ground on which we can build or help others to build. Unfortunately, diplomacy, especially in this context, is a form of activity whose success varies inversely with the attendant publicity. Government positions, especially Communist government positions, tend to harden markedly when exposed to the full glare of public attention.

I informed the House on Monday that our role in Vietnam has not been supine and that we have attempted to use the channels available to us by virtue of our Commission membership to establish contact with North Vietnam. Our Commissioner in Saigon over the past eight months prior to May 31 made several trips to the capital of North Vietnam, Hanoi.

During these visits he has had discussion with the local leaders and officials in an attempt to assess the North Vietnam Government's position. I asked him to go to Hanoi on May 31 and to see someone senior in the Government of Vietnam, the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister, and this he did.

This is the most recent contact that he has made, and although his report is not an encouraging one, I want to say that we have not abandoned the probing process. Mr. Seaborn, who is our Commissioner, is an officer of considerable experience and ability. He is well qualified for an important assignment of this delicate nature. He had an interview with the Foreign Minister on May 31, in which he expressed Canada's concern, and our willingness to play a helpful role if possible.

He sought clarification of the North Vietnam Government's position including its reaction to the recent pause in the bombings. Naturally, I cannot go into any greater detail about it at this time; but I should like to say that the Foreign Minister stated repeatedly that the four conditions which had previously been outlined by the Prime Minister of North Vietnam on April 8, taken as a whole, represented the Hanoi Government's approach to a settlement.

North Vietnamese Conditions

The official formula for these conditions is not exactly memorable, and in order to have them permanently recorded, I should like to quote them verbatim from the official text.

First of all, I should explain that, when the President of the United States, subsequent to the suggestion of Mr. Pearson that there should be a pause in the bombings, announced to the world that the United States would enter into negotiations with Hanoi without any pre-conditions, the Government of Hanoi shortly thereafter responded by stating that, before this could be done, there would have to be compliance with four conditions which I shall now give you verbatim. These were the four conditions which were also confirmed to Mr. Seaborn on May 31 and I quote:

1. Recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity. According to the Geneva Agreements, the United States Government must withdraw from South Vietnam all United States troops, military personnel, and weapons of all kinds, dismantle all United States military bases there, cancel its military alliance with South Vietnam. It must end its policy of intervention and

aggression in South Vietnam. According to the Geneva Agreements, the United States Government must stop its acts of war against North Vietnam, completely cease all encroachment on the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

2. Pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam while Vietnam is still temporarily divided into two zones the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, there must be no foreign military bases, troops and military personnel in their respective territories.

3. The internal affairs of South Vietnam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves, in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation without any foreign interference.

4. The peaceful reunification of Vietnam is to be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones, without any foreign interference.

Now these are the four so-called "clear-cut" conditions laid down by the Government of North Vietnam. I believe that these represent an uncompromising position and I must say that since Mr. Seaborn was in Hanoi we know that there has not been any satisfactory clarification given to some of the points involved in these four conditions.

Job of Interpretation

The real problem is to interpret this position and to see whether any way can be found of dovetailing it with the requirements of the other parties involved. This is a task of considerable delicacy. Since our efforts and those of the other countries are continuing, I cannot go into precise detail without jeopardizing the success of some of these discussions which are in fact now under way.

I should like to assure the Committee that we are also in close contact in Ottawa and through our representatives abroad with the British and United States Governments, with the South Vietnamese Government, and with the authorities in Paris, Moscow and New Delhi, to mention only some of the more active channels.

In our pursuit of a diplomatic solution, there should be no misunderstanding of the root causes of the present hostilities, and of our deep desire for peace. I think it would be dangerous to misjudge the basic responsibilities of those directly involved, and to direct our appeals or our strictures only to those who we know are most likely out of reason and conscience to heed us. To apply pressure only to those who are susceptible to our concerns is, in my judgment, naive. It is definitely dangerous, and I say dangerous advisedly because the consequences of a refusal to base policy on facts and a realistic assessment of objectives can only lead to a worse disaster than the one which it seeks to avert.

In 1930 this was branded appeasement. We all know only too well where it led us.

An Unavoidable Conclusion

Now I think, in its totality, the available evidence — and I shall say something more about this — points unmistakably to the conclusion that what is happening in Vietnam today is an armed conflict, with its original roots in the theory and practice of so-called "wars of liberation", and clandestine but crucially important

support from the outside. If this form of indirect aggression is allowed to succeed there will be incalculable consequences for world peace. I dealt with this problem at length in the House on May 28. I do not propose to repeat what I said, but suffice it to say that, if North Vietnam succeeds in taking over the whole of Vietnam by force, if the rest of the world is prepared to sit back and see this happen, saying feebly that, after all, it is only a domestic rebellion so why not accept the inevitable, we should, in my judgment, be guilty of an error of the same nature as the mistakes made at Munich and, before that, in the League of Nations. Aggression is aggression, whether it takes place in Europe, in Ethiopia, or in Vietnam.

I am deeply aware, of course, of the dangers of responding to aggression by military means alone; apart from the prospects of escalation, an exclusively military response runs the dangerous risk of forcing the Soviet Union into a position where it too responds by open military means in order to demonstrate its willingness and its ability to support another Communist power. Of course, such a Soviet response would undermine or destroy the progress that has been made by the West in undertaking a meaningful, if limited, dialogue with the Soviet Union. Such a dialogue is one of the cornerstones upon which world peace rests at the present time. So an exclusively military response to aggression could defeat one of the very purposes of resisting an outward thrust of a militant Communist Party.

Now, the perspective in these terms is not an attractive one: on the one hand, surrender to Communist aggression only postpones the day when a firmer stand must be taken; on the other, resistance in exclusively military terms raises the spectre of a wider conflict extending beyond the perimeters of Vietnam. Both alternatives are unacceptable and, because they are unacceptable, it is imperative that our best and most determined efforts should be directed toward finding a solution by some other means.

I have stated repeatedly, and I do so today, that the only acceptable alternative is to negotiate. Our objective is to get negotiations started. We have lost no time and spared no effort in the pursuit of this objective.

Need for a New Conference

As I have stated repeatedly, I do not believe, nor does the Government believe, that military measures in this situation will yield a solution, and the dangers of escalation are obvious. The greatest restraint has to be shown on all sides if the conflict is not to be widened. I think there is an appreciation of this. There must be a concerted attempt to negotiate a satisfactory settlement, and the most obvious way of doing so is at an international conference where these problems could be dealt with. Canada has been urging from the beginning the holding of a conference to bring this war to a halt. We have urged a cease-fire from the beginning, whether it comes about as a result of a conference on Laos or on Cambodia, a conference of the Geneva powers, or a conference of another kind that would enable the parties to begin discussions so as to afford at least a temporary climate of tranquility. But to do this, it must be pointed out, there has to be an agreement on more than

one side. The United States has clearly affirmed its willingness to agree to such a conference without pre-conditions. The sad fact is that there has been no satisfactory response from Hanoi. We wanted to test this ourselves and we did test it on May 31 through Mr. Seaborn.

I was encouraged to learn that Mr. Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary, informed the British House of Commons last week that — and I quote:

The aim of Her Majesty's Government is to obtain a conference so that fighting could end and a lasting settlement be obtained. The continuance and indeed, the intensification of the war makes this all the more necessary.

I fully agree with that statement. As I have said before, not only is this our aim but this continues to be the objective of the diplomatic effort in which we are engaged. But the problem is how to get such a conference under way.

Role of Secretary-General

I was greatly disturbed about this problem some weeks ago and I went down to the United Nations to see the Secretary-General. I realized that, because of the constitutional and financial crisis at the United Nations, this organization was not in a position to provide effective service; but the office of the Secretary-General is a powerful one and I wanted to determine myself that U Thant agreed that every effort should be made by him to try and bring about a meeting of the parties. I am satisfied beyond any doubt that he has worked wisely and assiduously toward this objective. But any appeal that would be made by the Secretary-General, in order to be effective, must be responded to not by one but by both sides. It is not for me to say how the Secretary-General should see fit to address himself to this problem, but the fact that he has not done so except through the use of quiet diplomacy, I think, indicates clearly his appreciation of what the response at the present time would be. It clearly does take two sides to negotiate; it takes a mutual realization that force is inadequate and unacceptable, and it takes a mutual willingness to compose differences peacefully.

The United States has repeatedly emphasized, ever since President Johnson's speech on April 7, that the United States is prepared to undertake negotiations. Unfortunately, there has been no comparable demonstration of flexibility from the other side, which has rejected rigidly all suggestions that it is better to talk about differences than to fight about them.

Now, it is true that in this situation there are great prestige commitments or, as it is sometimes known, "face", involved on all sides, and, for this reason, any progress toward the negotiating table can be made only slowly and step by step. I should recall to the members of the Committee that, when the 17 non-aligned powers issued their appeal in Belgrade to all parties for a cease-fire and for the beginning of negotiations to arrest the conflict in Vietnam, Canada was the first country to accept the essential element of this appeal. It was that negotiations should take place without pre-conditions.

Thus far I have concentrated on the diplomatic efforts we have made and shall continue to make. I know you will appreciate the complexity of the situation with

which we are dealing. Simple solutions will not do, attractive though they may appear. I should like to reiterate what I said in the House on May 28 — that is, our view has been from the first that a military solution alone in this situation is neither desirable nor practical. Our objective from the first has been to achieve a cease-fire; our objective is negotiation at any place, at any time, provided such negotiation is directed toward an equitable settlement.

We are taking whatever steps we can in concert with other countries or by ourselves to try to see whether in some way we can penetrate this impasse.

In the annals of diplomatic history, I believe the greatest failures have been those solutions to pressing problems which have been put together too hastily, too uncritically and with too shaky a basis on the facts of relevant history.

To solve a problem it is first necessary to understand it. I should like to speak about the nature of the problem in Vietnam as we see it. No one is happy about the situation in Vietnam. We all realize the dangerous implications if there were to be an extension of the conflict or a wider participation in it. It involves three of the most powerful nations in the world, including the most powerful nation in Asia and the most populated nation in the world. There is no doubt about the stakes in this situation. However, we have to look at all aspects of the problem in order to be able to fully understand it and to fully respond to it.

Canada's Non-Combatant Status

I hope it is clear that the position of the Canadian Government as a non-combatant, as a member of the Commission, is to do whatever it can to try to bring about pacification. We have had a long experience in Indochina. We have been on the Supervisory Commission with India and Poland for 11 years. This has given us an opportunity of objective assessment; it has given us a responsibility which we have to discharge in accordance with our international commitments.

To state that what is happening in Vietnam is "an internal rebellion plain and simple" is clearly at variance with established facts, which indicate, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that the essential element has been North Vietnamese interference, limited at first, but growing steadily in scope and intensity.

In the midst of the lack of experience in self-government in South Vietnam, following the Geneva settlement of 1954, the Communists were able to build the subversive movement now known as the Viet Cong and it was able to flourish only because of the material support and political direction it received from outside.

When I came in here this morning, I thought carefully whether in this Committee I should go further. I have gone thus far; but this is the best opportunity we, as a Government, have yet had to put before a proper body of our Parliament the facts involved in our stewardship as a member of that Commission. While I appreciate the risk involved in this aspect of my presentation, I feel there is a duty to put the following facts before this Committee, and I propose to do so.

Some people contest the claim that North Vietnam has been deeply involved in, or indeed has instigated, the war in the South. They say there is no evidence

to show any involvement on the part of North Vietnam and that thus the claim of the United States of America, and indeed other countries, like Australia and New Zealand, which now are involved, that they are helping South Vietnam resist outside aggression, falls to the ground. This argument, I believe, is inadequate in its basis and is dangerous in its impact.

Evidence of Northern Aggression

The evidence has not always been adequately presented. Here, of course, security factors are involved; but the evidence does exist, I assure you, and in quantity. Those who argue that North Vietnam never has been interfering in the affairs of South Vietnam are ignoring, for example, the conclusions on this question of the International Commission in its special report of June 2, 1962. In this report India and Canada agreed there was evidence to warrant the conclusion that North Vietnam had, in violation of its obligations under the Cease Fire Agreement of 1954, encouraged, sponsored and supplied activities aimed at the overthrow of the authorities in the South. That special report of 1962 also said other things about the situation in Vietnam. I want to say more about that later on. For the moment, I simply wish to point out there has been an impartial international judgment on this matter and that that judgment is against North Vietnam. That judgment was pronounced by members of the International Supervisory Commission, by majority composed of India and Canada, the other member of the Commission, of course, being Poland. However, this problem did not come to an end in 1962 with this special report; on the contrary, it has continued to exist and, in fact, its scope has increased seriously, and so has the evidence for this claim.

I tabled the special report in the House in March. It is available to the members of the Committee and I think it is indispensable reading in order to fully understand the situation in this very complicated and regrettably dangerous matter.

Now, to understand the situation confronting us in Vietnam, I think we must uncover some of the vast complicated history of that little country. It is precisely because so many of these complexities seem to be lost sight of, or disregarded, in assessing the problem that I wish to point out now some of the relevant factors as I see them.

By the end of the Indochina war in 1954, during and prior to which France had unsuccessfully tried a variety of constitutional arrangements for Vietnam, two governments had been established in Vietnam, both of which participated in the Geneva Conference, and both of which claimed to speak for the people of Vietnam.

History of the Viet Minh

- ✓ On the other hand, there was the regime of Ho Chi Minh, which had begun as an anti-colonial resistance movement — the Viet Minh — under Communist leadership. This leadership quickly established its control over all elements in the movement. Although it was active during the resistance to the Japanese invasion,

the Viet Minh cannot, in point of historical fact, be given credit for driving the Japanese out of Vietnam in 1945. The Viet Minh had been formed in May 1941, when the Indochinese Communist Party, having decided on a National Front policy, made approaches to various non-Communist groupings. During the war, the Viet Minh aided the allies by providing some intelligence information, distributing propaganda, and organizing the odd attack against the Japanese. At the same time, however, the Indochinese Communist Party consolidated its control over the National Front, eliminating or out-manceuvring the plethora of disorganized non-Communist nationalist groups. In March 1945, the Japanese, fearing an allied landing, wiped away the facade of Vichy-French administration. The French army was interned (and remained so until the allies landed to disarm the Japanese), and the French administrators were arrested.

Thus, when Japan suddenly collapsed in August 1945, catching the allies unprepared for the political consequences which were to follow in all of Southeast Asia, a vacuum was created in Vietnam which the Viet Minh rapidly sought to fill. Two days after the Japanese capitulation, the Viet Minh appeared in Hanoi. Refraining from any attacks on the Japanese, the Communist-led movement concentrated on driving other nationalist movements from the streets of the city. Encountering no resistance from the disorganized non-Communists, from the now uninterested Japanese or from the still imprisoned French, Ho Chi Minh formed a provisional government on August 29, in which the Indochinese Communist Party, or the Viet Minh, held all key posts.

This is, of course, a very condensed view of the vastly complicated period of history in Vietnam associated with the collapse of Japanese rule. I have for lack of time omitted reference to the role of the Chinese in this period, the re-entry of the French and their unsuccessful attempts to work out an accommodation with the Ho Chi Minh regime. I have mentioned the role of the Viet Minh *vis-à-vis* the Japanese because this matter was referred to in the House recently and because I wished to point out the movement's origins and the fact that it first came to prominence through the creation of a power vacuum, not through an anti-colonial war. That came later.

Of course, any member of the House of Commons has the duty to put on the record the facts as he sees them. It is equally the duty of those of us who, in the Government, have information, to give it and that is what I am now doing here. There was no adequate opportunity to do it in the debate in the House.

Historical Sketch of South Vietnam

But to return to the two Vietnams at Geneva in 1954. The second Vietnamese voice was that of the Southern regime based on Saigon — the State of Vietnam as it was called at the time, to which the French had granted full independence at the beginning of the conference. The Southern Government, while no less anti-colonial than the Northern, was at the same time anti-Communist, not only for ideological reasons but also out of the fear that a Communist Vietnam might become little

more than a protectorate of China, a fate which the Vietnamese have always feared and rejected, as a small nation living close to a larger and more powerful one. Once again, however, it is important to get the historical facts accurate if the problem is to be understood. Although the presence of big powers has been a factor of considerable importance throughout Vietnamese history, it would be an error to see that history as one long struggle against foreign aggression. The Chinese were driven out of Vietnam in 939 A.D. China continued to exert pressure on Vietnam but Vietnamese independence was maintained until 1407, when Chinese rule was restored; this period lasted for only 20 years, and in 1427 Vietnamese independence was reasserted. The Vietnam of the time, however, was not of the same territorial dimensions as today and the period following the last defeat of Chinese rule is characterized by the extension of Vietnamese rule southwards, and by contending Vietnamese dynasties. National unity became established only in 1802, but this unity was forged in feudal, dynastic warfare, not in anti-imperialist struggles in the usual sense of the phrase. Although the French had begun to show a colonial interest in the Indochina area somewhat earlier, it was not until the 1880's that France succeeded in establishing her rule throughout Vietnam. It is, therefore, not really accurate to refer to a brief period of freedom enjoyed by the Vietnamese people in the latter half of the nineteenth century when the Chinese Empire was receding and before the French arrived.

I have given some account of these historical factors — and the summary is by no means complete and could not be in the time available — partly because I wished to have the record straight on certain points and partly because I believe it is essential to understand that the division of Vietnam is not something created by the West in its own interests, but is something which represents the polarization of Vietnamese political forces into Communist and non-Communist sectors.

It is, moreover, essential to understand who was represented at Geneva in 1954 and who agreed to what before passing judgment on what has happened since then.

Geneva Settlement

The settlement reached in Geneva in 1954 comprised two main elements — a Cease-Fire Agreement, signed by the French High Command of the day and the Peoples Army of Vietnam (the Viet Minh), and a Final Declaration. The former document is a military agreement providing for regroupment of forces and spelling out other provisions looking to a separation of combatants and a freezing of their military activities and capabilities. The Final Declaration, on the other hand, was essentially a political document. It is there that we find references to the fact that the 17th Parallel is not to be regarded as a permanent dividing-line, and to the prospect of nation-wide elections in 1956.

I shall just make a parenthesis here. You will recall that, about a week ago, the Chinese Peoples Republic announced that this dividing-line need no longer be recognized. I expressed some doubt that there would be public support given to

this position of the Chinese Peoples Republic willingly or quickly by the Government of North Vietnam.

It is certainly clear that those who drafted and signed these documents anticipated that a permanent settlement would probably amount to the Viet Minh establishing its control over the whole territory of Vietnam.

The important part of this analysis, however, is the phrase “those who drafted and signed” the Geneva documents. Realizing only too well what the objectives of the Viet Minh leaders would be, the South Vietnamese leaders rejected the terms of the Geneva settlement, before these documents were signed, on the grounds that the division of Vietnam was inimical to the interests of the Vietnamese people because under these terms half of Vietnam was turned over to Communist control. The stand of the Saigon Government — and it must be remembered that it was a newly-independent political entity trying to resist the attempt of larger powers to impose their terms of settlement on it — was spelled out in a separate declaration issued by Mr. Tran Van Do, who has most recently re-emerged on the Vietnamese political scene, where he is now Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of South Vietnam. It might be useful if this declaration could be made available to members of the Committee, because it clearly indicates that the Government of South Vietnam did not support the Geneva settlement and, it must also be remembered, neither did the United States.

The rejection of the political portion of the Geneva settlement by the South Vietnamese Government and the reason for it is often lost sight of by those who criticize the Saigon Government as a creation of the Americans and as a political entity which is alleged to continue in existence in violation of the Geneva settlement.

French-Chinese Bargain

Having rejected the terms of the Geneva settlement before it was signed, and having explicitly reserved its right to safeguard its own interests, it cannot — as was argued the other day in the House of Commons — be convincingly accused of violating international obligations. To argue otherwise would be tantamount to saying that the great powers should be able to impose their will on a small and weak state. In fact, there is evidence that the division of Vietnam was a bargain struck at Geneva between the French and the Chinese, the two traditional “imperialist powers” in Vietnam. This division was accepted by the North Vietnamese because they thought it would be temporary and that they would subsequently get what they wanted — the whole of Vietnam — by the kind of elections which were imprecisely referred to in Paragraph 7 of the Final Declaration.

The South Vietnamese believed that such elections would amount only to a facade for a Communist takeover, and rejected the whole idea from the beginning.

I remember discussing with President Diem the question whether we should continue to maintain the Commission in Indochina or whether the time had come for the holding of elections, as was envisaged in the Geneva settlement. He re-

minded me then, of course, that South Vietnam was not a party to the settlement and also that there was need for the Commission to maintain its presence until such time as a truly objective election could take place. I am not trying to suggest that this was a correct position for him to take, but I do give it as part of the impressions that I have in my mind, naturally, as I try to assess this situation.

Free Elections Unlikely

While reaffirming their belief in the territorial integrity of Vietnam, the South Vietnamese maintained that nation-wide elections looking to the reunification of Vietnam would be meaningful only if they were absolutely free and, with a Communist regime installed in Hanoi, this condition seemed unlikely to be fulfilled in that half of the country. I myself found this confirmed when I spent three days visiting the million refugees just outside of Saigon. They had come from the North. They were mainly Christian refugees who had fled just as others in Europe have fled, from what they thought was the dangerous encroachment of a Communist power.

It is well for us, when we are considering this situation, to think that there are many parallels to what is happening in Asia today and what happened in Europe that brought about the creation by us of a defensive organization known as NATO to provide for our security. The absence of this kind of arrangement, and an effective kind or arrangement, in Asia today is one of the gaps, and it is one of the reasons perhaps why this situation exists at present.

This stand was consistently maintained by the Government of South Vietnam. The election envisaged in 1956 in the settlement (which had not been signed by the South) did not take place. There were, however, elections within South Vietnam itself, on a South Vietnamese basis rather than on a nation-wide basis.

Survival of South Vietnam

As the French withdrew from Indochina in the years immediately following the Geneva settlement, it became clear that the Government in Saigon had no intention of passively accepting the absorption which Hanoi had planned for it. There were few observers at the time who expected a life span for the Saigon Government of more than a few years. Where Hanoi had inherited the traditions of a victorious struggle against colonialism, Saigon inherited a legacy of collapse and defeat. Since Hanoi had been the administrative centre for the French administration in Indochina, Saigon found itself with little political experience and without even the physical facilities for an effective administration. But South Vietnam not only survived, it began to make tangible social and economic progress, partly with outside help but mainly through the determination of the South Vietnamese population itself. This population had by this time been swollen by the million refugees I mentioned a moment ago who chose not to live under the Communist regime in the North. The fact that this mass migration took place — often under the greatest hardship and in the face of active opposition from the Communist

authorities — is reflection enough on the contention that the Viet Minh had the wholehearted support of the Vietnamese people. No one who could have seen the plight of these refugees could have believed that there is as much credence as some people give at the present time to a distinction between the ideological motive of the Communist in Asia and the Communist in Europe. Realizing that the administration in the South was not going to collapse or allow itself to disappear as anticipated as a result of manipulated elections, and indeed that it showed signs of economic progress beyond anything that had come about in the North, the Hanoi regime decided that a more active and aggressive policy was required in order to establish the control of the whole country; this had been denied by South Vietnam's refusal to implement terms which the North had agreed to at Geneva but which had — I repeat — been then rejected by the South.

Early Revelation of Red Plans

One of the basic stipulations of this Cease-Fire Agreement was that there should be a total regroupment of forces, with the French withdrawing into South Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh's armies into the North. Unfortunately, the North carried out its obligations only partially, leaving behind — this is based on evidence dealt with by a Committee of the International Commission of which Canada is a member — secret caches of armaments and military personnel who shed their military identification and melted inconspicuously into the countryside, ready to organize political action or to resume hostilities if necessary. The fact that the Northern regime intended to interfere in the South was first made public, although very few people have paid attention to this, in a statement of the Vietnamese Workers Party in July of 1954, just at the end of the Geneva Conference.

In part this statement asserted, and I quote:

Naturally, at a time when our troops and our administrative authority are being withdrawn towards the North, the Party members and co-patriots in Nam Bo — that is South Vietnam — will continue to remain in the zones on the other side. The warmongering elements seek to sabotage the Armistice and re-establish a state of war. Our compatriots and our members must continue to wage a hard struggle.

The Party must struggle; its duties must remain with the people, educating them, unmasking all activities of warmongers, maintaining the influence of the Party and the Government with the people, and winning the respect of the mass for President Ho Chi Minh.

Translated from the usual Communist terminology, this statement clearly means one thing. It means that Northern agents would be left in the South to disrupt the government there. This residue of men and arms provided the basis for the beginnings of a Hanoi-directed aggression in the South.

As a political take-over was seen to be improbable, innocent villagers were terrorized into providing shelter and food for the guerillas and into helping them to finance their operations. The first target was usually the village administrative officer, whose murder could be seen as an effective challenge to the Government's authority and a demonstration of what happens to those who refuse to co-operate.

In speaking of instability in Vietnam, in arguing that the Viet Cong have been supported by the peasants, these basic facts must be kept in mind; the Viet Cong

have literally murdered hundreds of trained and responsible administrators. In these circumstances, it must be admitted that the phenomenon of instability must be judged cautiously. Similarly, peasant support for guerillas, which is won by murder and intimidation, is not the same as support which is spontaneously given in the exercise of free choice as we know it.

Now the suggestion has been made that the Government of South Vietnam has never been able to hold anything but the cities because it has not enjoyed the support of the people. This was argued in the House of Commons, and this is believed throughout this country, as I see it in my correspondence. Control of the countryside in South Vietnam has always been a problem for the central authorities, as might be expected in an under-developed country where geographical obstacles are great and communication facilities are limited.

Popular Support for Reds Dubious

Even the Communists with their police-state apparatus have had to face revolts in the North, and fairly recently. Large areas of the South Vietnamese countryside regularly pass from Government to Viet Cong control and back again, depending on the local military conditions. Most observers of the Vietnamese scene claim that the peasants want nothing more than to be left alone. However, when they are subjected to techniques of blackmail, assassination and torture by the marauding Viet Cong bands, as the Prime Minister of New Zealand pointed out recently in a statement on Vietnam, it would be an extraordinary act of local defiance to withhold co-operation. Co-operation given in this manner however is vastly different from the sort of popular support which critics of the Southern position in Vietnam seem to assume the Viet Cong enjoy.

Gradually, in the years after 1956, the scope of these terrorist activities increased to the point where the South Vietnamese Government, with the limited resources at its disposal, was unable to cope with the problem of guaranteeing the security of its people against this kind of subversion. In these circumstances, the South Vietnamese Government did what any government confronted with these problems would do — it appealed for help in the exercise of the legitimate right of self-defence. This is permitted under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. To this appeal the United States responded affirmatively, at the same time making it clear that, when the need for military help ended, it would be terminated.

These, then, are the basic elements in the historical evolution of the dangerous situation confronting the world today in Vietnam. Steadily increasing interference by North Vietnam in the affairs of the South has led to the steady increase of the United States presence. It is imperative that the two should be seen together if our analysis of the problem — let alone our prescription for its remedy — is to have any meaning. These developments have been a source of direct concern to the Canadian Government right from the beginning. As a member of the International Commission in Vietnam, we have had a first-hand and independent experience of the failure, on all sides, to live up to the terms of the Geneva Cease-Fire Agreement

which it is the Commission's task to supervise but not to implement. I repeat that, if all sides were to live up to the Geneva Cease-Fire Agreement of 1954, we could have peace in that area. There are instruments provided in the Agreement for dealing with grievances. However, if there is no disposition to live up to an agreement, a country like ours has no power, certainly by itself, to enforce it. And so we must observe and report the situation — in terms of violations of the agreement — as we see it. I think that, to the best of our ability under the successive Canadian Governments, we have done so and we shall continue to do so in the hope that the objective and impartial discharge of our responsibilities in the face of facts available to us may go some distance towards focussing international attention on all the disturbing factors in the situation and persuading all those involved to face up to their own responsibilities for the generation of this tension and, conversely, for its relaxation.

Situation Deteriorates

In the Commission's special report of June 2, 1962, an Indian-Canadian majority presented a balanced assessment of what had been happening in Vietnam, where violations of the Cease-Fire Agreement by both sides were producing a dangerously, unstable situation. Since that report was published, the situation has deteriorated even further, as we feared it would in the absence of corrective measures applicable to all violations of the Agreement. The intensification of activities in violation of the Agreement led to the Commission's special message, dated February 13 of this year, which, together with the 1962 report, I tabled on March 8. It gives, as Prime Minister Wilson has said, a balanced picture. I should point out that, of those countries with whom we are associated in the NATO alliance, no one country has publicly taken a position basically different from the position taken by the Government of Canada. This is not without its significance.

Since there has been some misunderstanding of the minority report of February 13 presented by Canada, I want to add a few comments by way of clarifying our position.

Aim of Canadian Minority Report

The Canadian minority statement represents our assessment of the facts available to the Commission in Vietnam. It was submitted for reasons arising out of our conviction, based on more than ten years of experience, that to report on only one aspect of the situation in Vietnam, to deal publicly with only one set of violations of the Agreement, is seriously to distort the assessment of the situation.

It has been argued that the Canadian statement condones the policies of South Vietnam and United States authorities in bombing North Vietnamese installations. I do not know how anyone could possibly come to that conclusion. The sole purpose of the Canadian statement was to augment the presentation of facts in the Indian-Polish report with other and equally significant material, including a direct reference to the South Vietnamese authorities' explanation of the events in question.

Our Commission colleagues had been unwilling, in the opinion of the Canadian minority report, to take these relevant facts into account; this made it necessary for us to do so in order to restore the sense of balance on which the 1962 report was based, but which the majority report in the 1965 message lacked.

If we had signed the Indian-Polish document — and we did not disagree with the facts which it reports — without augmenting it, we might have run the risk of having the Commission convey the impression that the situation described in the 1962 report had changed; that the only violation of the Geneva Agreement since 1962 had been the air strikes against North Vietnam, and that, therefore, the main responsibility rested on South Vietnam and the United States for the danger of wider hostilities.

Well, in our statement I think we have indicated that this would clearly present a false impression. There is no change in the nature of the situation, but rather there has been an intensification of the same factors as were noted in the 1962 report.

Unless North Vietnamese activities and policies are identified, recognized and taken into account, the Commission would be failing to live up to its full range of responsibilities and would be conveying a misleading impression of the problems before it.

This leads me to make a few brief comments on the contents of the Canadian statement and the materials on which it was based. The first half of the statement relates to the conclusions of the comprehensive legal study prepared and re-edited within the Commission. I discussed this at some length in the House of Commons on March 8 and I explained the nature of this legal submission. What I said then may be perhaps read with what I am saying today.

Insufficient Attention to Aggression Charges

The second section of the Canadian statement, in referring to recent allegations of Northern aggression, did not purport to be Commission conclusions. Rather, this section was intended to demonstrate that the Commission had, since its special report of 1962, continued to receive serious allegations, the gravity of which was indicated by references to the substance of the complaints, of Northern aggression in the South. The Commission has not given these matters the attention they deserve, it has not established to the best of its ability whether the complaints are supported by sufficient evidence to warrant the Commission drawing firm conclusions comparable to those concerning the earlier cases in the special report.

To ignore these problems by failing to report that they are, and indeed have been, before the Commission for some time would be to create a seriously distorted image of the full range of violations of the Geneva Agreements of which the Commission has had knowledge.

I am sure that members of the Committee will agree that this would be an intolerable deviation from the impartial and objective approach which I am satisfied beyond any doubt Canadian representatives both civilian and military on the Com-

mission have sought to follow since we accepted this responsibility in 1954.

Far from justifying or condoning the policies followed by one or the other of the parties, or both, we have attempted (and when I say we, I mean the Canadian members of the Commission — some former officers are here today sitting against this wall, who spent many difficult months under trying circumstances in Indo-China) to take cognizance of all the relevant facts and to impart a sense of balance to the picture presented to the international community at large by the Commission.

Conflict Not Local Rebellion

Now I believe that, if we are to understand what is at stake in Vietnam, we must realize that this is no local rebellion arising mainly out of agrarian discontent with an unpopular government, although undoubtedly it contains some of these elements, and in sufficient degree to lend an air of credibility to the argument of those who would so convince us.

It is not uncommon to hear claims made that the Liberation Front — the political organization of the Viet Cong — and its leadership are drawn from a broad and representative stream of South Vietnamese dissenting opinion, not all of it Communist or even pro-Communist.

For example, it is sometimes asserted that the leader of the Liberation Front is not a Communist. As far as I can judge, this is largely a matter of speculation, and I have material on which to judge, because he is a shadowy figure seldom seen except by Communist journalists such as Wilfrid Burchett. For a political figure who is reported to control the greater part of the country and to command the allegiance of many people, he, no less than his organization, are shadowy presences indeed. As a movement, the Liberation Front has no acknowledged headquarters. Indeed I doubt whether many people even today know the leader's name. That his opposition to Diem was responsible for his leaving Saigon is indisputable, just as it is in the case of prominent figures in the present South Vietnamese administration headed by Dr. Quat, who was likewise an opponent of Diem but whose opposition did not take form of joining the Viet Cong.

Similarly, it was recently asserted that Hanoi had no more control over the Viet Cong than Stalin had over Mao Tse-Tung. Now, this is a categorical statement made about a relationship the nature of which deliberately is kept hidden. However, available evidence suggests that precisely the reverse conditions obtain. In this connection the comments of the Vietnam Commission's legal committee, as quoted in our minority statement of February 13, are of direct relevance.

Now, I have gone into the background of some of our experiences on the Commission in this detail because I thought it important for the Committee to understand why in a matter of this grave situation simple solutions will not do, attractive though they may appear.

I should not want anyone to think that in the last portion of my presentation I have sought to give the impression that our approach to this problem was that

of a blind protagonist; it is not that at all. We have a responsibility on the Commission, and I have a responsibility on behalf of the Government, to accept the submissions of that Commission or to reject them, and I have seen no reason for taking the latter course. Therefore, I felt it was my duty to at least take this opportunity, the first in some time, to put on the record our assessment of some of the factors; but I should not want this assessment in any way to becloud what I said at the beginning.

We appreciate the dangers involved in this situation. We recognize that it would be tragic if this situation in Vietnam were to expand, if it were to involve more vigorous participation by other countries. I have no reason to believe that there is any evidence that this will be the case, but, in this day when war should no longer be an instrument of national policy, it is difficult for a country like Canada, subscribing as it does to the United Nations Charter, to see this kind of conflict being pursued. We have to bear in mind the consequence of capitulation or of defeat for either side. We must bear in mind the advantages of proper accommodation, perhaps through negotiations, without any pre-conditions, so that we might reach a stage of settlement in an area of Asia which vitally effects strategically not only the mainland but some other countries with whom we have the closest Commonwealth association. I repeat, we are doing everything we can do. I asked myself this morning is there anything more that we, as a nation, can do, having in mind our responsibilities and our overall obligations and interests, to try and bring about a cease-fire. I can only say I do not know of anything more that we can do. But I do know we are not going to stop doing what we are doing.

I regret that the United Nations is not capable of intervening in this situation. This is not because of any act of ours, but there is a constitutional and financial crisis which has crippled its effectiveness in this kind of a situation. The Prime Minister has suggested that, if a conference took place and conclusions are reached about an independent or neutral Vietnam, in order to give substance to that conference arrangements must be made to provide guarantees for the observance of the commitments reached.

We have the experience of violations of the 1954 Agreement almost right away, infiltrations beginning from the North, with all the consequences that confront the world today. In view of the mistakes in Asia, it would not be realistic for the West and for the nations of Asia to assume that a final settlement can be reached in the absence of some kind of sanction, some kind of guarantee. The Prime Minister suggested that the United Nations normally would be the body to whom would be assigned this responsibility but, for the reasons I have mentioned, this is not practical and there would thereby repose on the international community a responsibility to provide that kind of guarantee. This, I think, is a minimum requirement. But it will not be easy because this kind of a presence depends in the final analysis upon the acceptance of all the parties concerned, and without their consent such an arrangement is just not practical, even though it is undoubtedly desirable.

Then, I should like to say we have given consideration to the suggestion of the President of India, Mr. Radhakrishnan. His proposal for an Asian-African force or presence differs from our Prime Minister's in the fact that, while we were thinking of a presence after a conference as a means of guaranteeing the terms of settlement, the President of India was thinking in terms of a presence that would intervene before any conclusions or any settlement was reached.

Mr. Chairman, I think this is all I have to say at this point on this subject except, in answer to Mr. Douglas, that I should like to complete my answer and refer you to what I said in the House of Commons on March 8. I said, first of all, that, while not denying the facts on which the majority report of 1965 is based, the Canadian Government believes it presents an oversimplified and misleading impression of the root causes of the dangerous instability in Vietnam. To correct such an impression, the Canadian delegation has appended a statement to the majority report in the hope that the special message as a whole might reflect more accurately the full scope of the problem in Vietnam.

Then there is the statement of the Canadian delegation, which, in effect, says that we do not dispute the facts as stated in the majority report but that they do not represent the whole story. I should like to quote from Paragraph 2 on Page 12, which reads as follows:

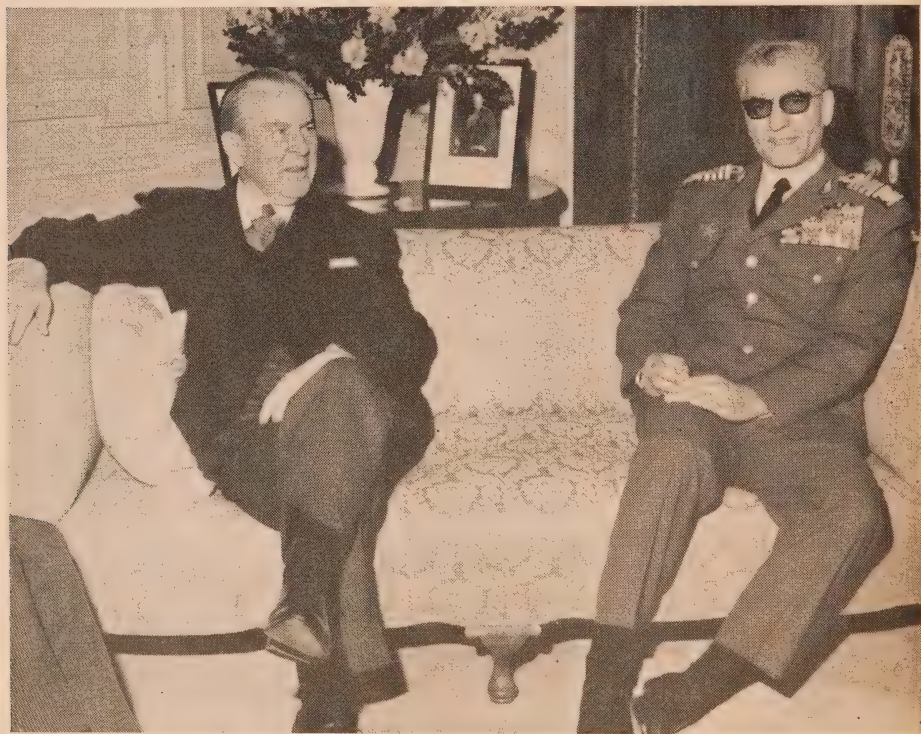
The Canadian delegation agrees that the situation in Vietnam continues to be dangerously unstable, and events since February 7 in North and South Vietnam have provided a dramatic demonstration of this continuing condition. The delegation believes, however, that the causes of this situation must be seen in context, and, therefore, reviewed in the framework of the Commission's full range of responsibilities under the Geneva Agreement. By concentrating on a very limited aspect of the situation in Vietnam, the majority report runs the serious risk of giving the members of the Geneva Conference a distorted picture of the nature of the problem in Vietnam and its underlying causes.

In reporting on the events in North and South Vietnam since February 7, the Canadian delegation, therefore, deems it necessary to set these events in their proper perspective.

State Visit of the Shah of Iran

AT THE invitation of His Excellency the Governor General, Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah and the Empress of Iran began a week-long visit to Canada in Ottawa on May 19, 1965. They also visited Quebec City, Montreal and Toronto. Full state honours were accorded the royal couple on their arrival at Uplands Airport, where they were greeted by Governor-General and Mme Vanier, Prime Minister and Mrs. Pearson, the Secretary of State for External Affairs and Mrs. Martin, heads of diplomatic missions and their wives and the Acting Mayor of Ottawa and Mrs. Fogarty.

During the Ottawa visit, a state banquet was given by the Governor General and Mme Vanier at Rideau Hall, where the royal visitors stayed during the visit, and a return dinner was given for the Governor General and Mme Vanier. At the dinner at Rideau Hall, the Governor General described the occasion to the Shah as "a long-awaited opportunity for us to express direct the admiration which Canadians feel for you, not simply as the crowned head of a friendly monarchy but as a wise and far-sighted leader whose courageous foreign policies and con-



His Imperial Majesty Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, Shah of Iran, in conversation with Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson of Canada during the state visit of the Shahanshah to the Canadian capital.

structive reforms have made his country a model of stability and of impressive social, political and economic development". In his reply, the Shah cited the "remarkable progress" that had "placed Canada among the ranks of the most progressive countries in the world today", and pointed out that both Canada and Iran were "dedicated to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the peaceful settlement of international issues" and "ideally suited to intensify their positive and constructive roles in the solution of critical world problems".

How to Aid Developing Nations

In a speech to the Canadian Club and the Women's Canadian Club of Ottawa on May 20, the Shah stressed the fact that developing countries required considerable assistance from the "have" nations. He said that he was not referring to his own country, which had "unlimited resources and wealth", but pointed out that "the existence of nations of poor means and poor educational levels, side by side with rich nations . . . is at the root of the many crises of our time, which inevitably will continue in the future if sustained and systematic efforts are not furnished to improve conditions in developing nations". He praised Canada's help to other countries and stated that Canada "can be a brilliant example for other progressive nations", a mission that he felt Canada "will accomplish . . . splendidly". During a press conference in Ottawa, the Shah stated that the easiest way to study the problems of closing the economic gap between the developed and the developing countries might be "through the different channels of the United Nations". During the same press conference, the Shah outlined Iranian agrarian reform programmes.

In Ottawa, the Shah had useful and cordial official talks with the Prime Minister, Mr. Martin and Mr. Drury, the Minister of Industry. Several international problems and topics of mutual interest were discussed, including the United Nations and trade. The Prime Minister was also host at a lunch for Their Imperial Majesties.

Quebec Visit

On May 21, the royal party left for Quebec City, where they were guests of the government of Quebec at dinners offered by the Prime Minister of Quebec and Mme Lesage and the Lieutenant-Governor and Mme Comtois. The Secretary of State of Canada and Mme Lamontagne, who accompanied the royal couple during their visits to Quebec City and Montreal, were hosts at a luncheon for the royal visitors in Quebec City. A feature of the visit was an afternoon trip on the St. Lawrence River.

During their stay in Montreal from May 23 to 25, His Worship the Mayor and Mme Drapeau, on behalf of the City of Montreal, gave a dinner for the royal couple and, following an operatic concert in the evening at the Place des Arts, a "vin d'honneur". The Commissioner-General of Expo '67, Mr. Dupuy was host at a lunch for Their Imperial Majesties at the site of the Exhibition.

The Shah dedicated the site of the future Iranian pavilion. He also visited the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University, where he was received by the Chancellor, the Principal and other leaders of the University, including the Director of the Institute.

Toronto Visit

The Shah and the Empress arrived in Toronto on May 25 for a one-day visit, accompanied by the Minister of National Defence and Mrs. Hellyer. The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and Mrs. Rowe gave an official banquet at the Royal York Hotel which was attended by the Prime Minister of Ontario and Mrs. Roberts. His Worship the Mayor and Mrs. Givens received the Empress at the new City Hall.

During their Canadian tour, the Iranian royal visitors were able to see various aspects of Canadian economic and social development. The Shah visited the St. Lawrence Seaway, industrial plants, power sites and research laboratories. In Toronto he personally piloted a Canadian-designed light aircraft on a short flight. The Empress visited three hospitals, a day nursery, the National Gallery and the Royal Ontario Museum.

On May 27, the royal party left Toronto by air for Tehran *via* Europe. A joint press communiqué issued at the end of the visit to Ottawa expressed the determination of both Governments to "contribute towards the solving of problems, particularly that of financing, presently under consideration in the United Nations". "Discussions between the two Governments," it went on, "revealed a common determination to assist in solving difficult international problems and a common conviction that the defensive alliances of the free world continue to play an essential part in deterring aggression." The communiqué added that "both Governments agreed that raising the standard of living of the developing countries of the world was an urgent and vital problem in which all countries must co-operate in finding an appropriate solution". The desirability of increasing trade and cultural ties between Canada and Iran was also noted in the communiqué, which stated, in conclusion, that "the Governments of Canada and Iran reaffirmed the warm friendship between their two countries and their determination to develop the ties between them which have been further strengthened by the very welcome state visit of His Imperial Majesty to Canada".

Canada-U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group

EIGHTH SESSION, OTTAWA

IN MAY 1965, Canada was host to a group of United States legislators who came to Ottawa for a round of relaxed and informal discussions. The occasion was the eighth annual meeting of the Canada-United States Inter-Parliamentary Group, a body established in 1958 to provide a forum in which Canadian Parliamentarians and United States Congressmen could exchange views on matters of common concern to their countries.

The creation of the Inter-Parliamentary Group was initiated by a resolution in the United States Senate that proposed the setting-up of a body to facilitate an exchange of opinions between Canadian and U.S. legislators. The passing of this resolution was followed by parallel action in the Canadian Parliament and, shortly thereafter, following the necessary organizational steps, the first meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Group took place.

Unique Characteristics

The Canada-United States Inter-Parliamentary Group has some unique characteristics. It combines activities that are both formal and informal. Valuable discussion takes place not only in plenary session or in sub-committees but also in private and informal conversations. The Inter-Parliamentary Group transcends party lines, providing members of all parties represented in the federal field in both countries with an occasion to meet and talk to each other. Canadian representatives at the recent meeting were drawn from provinces from British Columbia to Nova Scotia, while the United States delegation displayed very broad geographical representation, its members drawn from such distant states as Hawaii, California, Kansas and North Carolina as well as from states near Canada such as Montana and Maine. This broad representation from both countries suggests a growing appreciation on the part of legislators in both Canada and the United States of the importance of each country to the other in much more than the regional sense.

This year, the committee meetings took place in Ottawa on May 20 and 21, with some 25 Americans, led by Senator George Aiken and Representative Cornelius Gallagher, and about 24 Canadians under the leadership of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Honourable Alan Macnaughton, and the Speaker of the Senate, the Honourable Maurice Bourget, attending the discussions. Most members of both groups were accompanied by their wives, whose presence enhanced the social aspects of the visit.

Prime Minister L. B. Pearson briefly addressed the opening plenary session on May 20. The remainder of this and following days were devoted to consideration

of a number of questions, including transportation links between Canada and the United States, water-resources problems, the NATO Alliance, defence production, the reorganization of the armed forces of Canada (on which the Honourable Paul Hellyer, Minister of National Defence, spoke), and the questions of Vietnam and the situation in the Dominican Republic. At the end of the Ottawa sessions, the Canadian Speakers were hosts at a dinner that was addressed by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

During the first two days of their stay, members of the United States delegation were also received in the House of Commons and in the Senate; their presence was noted on May 21 by party leaders and by the Speakers.

On the third day the members travelled to Montreal by private train, stopping off at the Seigniory Club, Montebello, Quebec, for lunch, and reaching Montreal in time for dinner at the St. James Club, where the Honourable Guy Favreau, Minister of Justice, and the Honourable C. M. Drury, Minister of Industry, were among the guests. Next morning, members were briefed on plans and progress of the Expo '67 project by Commissioner General Pierre Dupuy and senior members of his staff. After lunch on the Ile Ste. Helene, offered by Mayor Drapeau of Montreal, both Canadians and Americans were flown over the island in helicopters to survey the preparations being made for the Exposition. A rapid bus-trip brought the Group to Dorval and the end of another pleasant opportunity for the exchange of views between elected representatives of countries which have much in common.

Visit of Indian Prime Minister

CANADA had as its guest from June 10 to 14, 1965, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India. This was Mr. Shastri's first visit and continued the tradition of Mr. Nehru, who visited Canada twice. Since India gained its independence in 1947, Canadian Prime Ministers have visited India on two occasions.

Mr. Shastri was accorded a warm welcome on his arrival at the Ottawa airport. On June 11, he visited Parliament. At the invitation of the Speaker of the House, he opened the Commonwealth Room in the presence of Commonwealth representatives in Ottawa. Mr. Shastri appeared in the Speaker's Gallery, where he was recognized and given a resounding ovation by the Members of the House of Commons. Later that morning, the Indian Prime Minister paid tribute to Canada's war dead by laying a wreath at the National War Memorial in Confederation Square. During the second and third days of his visit, Mr. Shastri had talks with Prime Minister Pearson, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, and other Canadian Ministers and officials on major international problems, questions expected to arise at the Commonwealth heads of government meeting and Indian-Canadian relations. (The communiqué issued after the talks appears at the end of this article.)

Besides visiting Ottawa, Mr. Shastri had an opportunity to see other parts of Canada. He flew to Hamilton, Ontario, where he was greeted by the Honourable



Prime Minister Shastri in conversation with Prime Minister Pearson during the visit of the former to Ottawa.

Judy LaMarsh, the Minister for National Health and Welfare, and was then driven through the fruitlands and cities of the Niagara Peninsula *en route* to Niagara Falls. A busy few hours in Niagara included lunch and several opportunities for Mr. Shastri to view the Falls. He appeared to enjoy the famous spectacle, even climbing the protective railing to get a better look. Wherever Mr. Shastri went in Niagara, he was warmly applauded by friendly crowds of sightseers.

On the last day of his visit, after a press conference and a call on Prime Minister Pearson, Mr. Shastri visited Montreal, Canada's largest city. Before a large and enthusiastic audience, McGill University conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on the Indian Prime Minister. In response, Mr. Shastri spoke about the Indian position and policies in the present troubled world. Following the special convocation, Mr. Shastri had tea with members of the faculty and with Indian students attending McGill. The Prime Minister then went to the City Hall, where he was greeted by Mayor Drapeau and signed the Golden Book.

Mr. Shastri left in the evening for the Commonwealth prime ministers' conference in London. He was seen off by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Mr. Shastri's Press Conference⁽¹⁾

On June 14 Prime Minister Shastri held a press conference. Part of the question and answer exchanges follows:

Prime Minister Shastri — Friends, I am very happy to have had this opportunity of visiting Canada. The visit gives me an opportunity to come into contact with a very likeable personality, the Prime Minister of Canada; he is so good and so noble. We have had frank and friendly discussions.

I am glad that I came here, to a country which has been closely co-operating with us in the maintenance of international peace. It has also been giving valuable help in our task of economic development, and has been doing so in a quiet and unostentatious manner.

I was naturally eager to see this great land. Although I have seen little of it, yet I have been deeply impressed by its beauty and by the warmth of the hospitality extended. We have a common approach on many matters.

Question — Mr. Prime Minister, would you comment for us on what you think might be the possible method of achieving a cease-fire in Vietnam and getting negotiations started?

Answer — I do think that achieving a cease-fire is by no means an easy matter. The attitude of the countries concerned has greatly stiffened during the last one month or two, if I might say so. It is my hope that, in case bombing is stopped, there might be a better climate for having some kind of talks and discussions.

⁽¹⁾Verbatim text.

What is essential is that hostilities come to an end, and then a conference of the general type might be held in which the greatest issues involved could be discussed and a cease-fire arrived at.

Question — How do you evaluate the recent cease-fire attempt on the part of the United States and its usefulness?

Answer — Well, it is good that the United States thought of it and stopped the bombing for a few days, but perhaps the ground should have been prepared in a better way, and there should have been some kind of regular announcement that the United States had thought of stopping the bombing; it might have produced a somewhat better result.

Question — Mr. Prime Minister, do you have any new plans to try to persuade North Vietnam or the Communist China to come to a conference table such as President Johnson proposed?

Answer — We have no specific plan as such, but there might be discussions in different forums in the course of the next few days or the next few weeks; and it is just possible that something positive might come out of these discussions or these meetings.

Question — The communiqué states that a military solution is neither practical nor desirable. Not desirable from whose point of view, under Viet Cong trying to achieve victory?

Answer — Desirable, of course, from the people's point of view of Vietnam — the feelings of the people who have been afflicted with all the suffering. Besides, no one has said, as far as I know, that this matter could be solved militarily. I think that perhaps the thinking of the United States is along the same lines; they also feel that it is much better to settle it peacefully rather than through military means.

Question — Mr. Prime Minister, the other day our Foreign Minister told a committee here in relation to Viet Cong aggression in South Vietnam that, if South Vietnam were conquered by force, and if the rest of the world sits by and lets this happen, because it is merely a civil war, we should be guilty of an error as serious as that made in Munich. How do you regard that?

Answer — We believe in the freedom and independence of Vietnam, and we are of the opinion that the two Vietnams should unite. It is important that these countries be given every opportunity to develop and flourish on their own, and in keeping with their own genius. It would not be desirable for the intervention of any foreign country, in South Vietnam, or Vietnam, or any other country of Southeast Asia.

Question — Mr. Prime Minister, one of the four conditions laid down by North Vietnam as a prelude to negotiations is the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Vietnam. Do you support this?

Answer — I do think that ultimately it should mean the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

Question — Mr. Prime Minister, do you think there is any imminent danger of China intervening in the Vietnam situation?

Answer — In the solution?

Question — Directly in the war there?

Answer — If I base my reply on the indications as they are at present, there does not seem to be much chance of direct intervention by China in the present conflict there, although they hold very strong views.

Question — Mr. Prime Minister, are you concerned about the possibility of any further attack on your country by China, and does the fact that China is an emerging nuclear power cause any further concern than you have had in the past?

Answer — I do not know what the intention of China is. They are concentrated on our frontier — their armies — and it is a constant threat to our country. There is no doubt that the explosion of the nuclear bomb has caused great concern to us and to our people. We are, however, decided that we shall not manufacture nuclear weapons. We shall not make them. Yet we are very particular that the world as a whole should consider how to stop further proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is a matter of vast importance, because, if what China has done leads other countries to attempt the same approach, then humanity, or mankind at large, would be in constant danger of nuclear war; therefore, I say it is essential that all available steps be taken to think of measures towards eliminating nuclear weapons.

Question — Sir, can you say what steps might be taken, particularly to prevent this proliferation, and what is the best forum for doing it? The communiqué mentions 18 members.

Answer — Yes. I think the Disarmament Committee is the proper agency to think over these matters. The latest proposals have been put forward by different countries, and they have made certain suggestions. I should not like to go into them. Possibly you would like China to participate in the Disarmament Committee proceedings.

Question — Would you comment on the legality of colonialism? I believe our standard of colonialism is not legal, *ab initio*, and this was declared in the United Nations resolutions. Would you comment on the legal position of Portuguese territory, and Angola, and the other territories — how they claim protection of borders?

Answer — So far as borders are concerned, they relate to two sovereign states; whereas, in the matter of colonies, the issue is entirely different. It is a question pertaining to the independence of self-government of the people residing there. No foreign power should keep any area of any other country under subjugation. It is entirely the full right of the people to seek self-determination, and India has always lent full support to freedom of colonies. We still stick to that same view.

Question — Mr. Prime Minister, we continue to get reports of very serious economic conditions in India. Would you tell us how you feel about these and what progress has been made?

Answer — There have been economic difficulties in our country, but we have tried to get over them through attempting various measures. We had to face shortage of food last year, and we had to import a good deal from other countries. Canada also came to our help and supplied us with about 100,000 tons of wheat. Our food position has improved this year, because we had a very good crop of both rice and wheat. However, I should like to remove the impression that there is starvation in India and people are dying from starvation. There has been no single case of death by starvation, and we have every hope that in the coming years it will be possible to increase our agricultural production and build up a stock, both by help of indigenous stocks and through imports from abroad. But sometimes the time comes when we may have to depend on imports.

There is a foreign-exchange difficulty as well — it is very recent, the last couple of months — and it has become a serious problem with us. We are, however, taking the greatest measures in order to meet this situation, and I am sure we shall get over it.

Question — Will your country be able to get over it by itself, or will it have to increase its request for aid from countries outside of India?

Answer — Well, we shall have to do both. Naturally, we shall have to depend more on ourselves, and then we may have to ask for loans from others.

Question — Do you feel your country can remain a non-aligned nation indefinitely, particularly with the resurgence of Communist China, and if so, how effective a peace-keeping role do you think India can play?

Answer — Non-alignment is a policy which we have accepted and adopted deliberately. It is a policy which helps us in keeping out of power blocs as such, and I do not think we can afford to change it. In fact, more and more countries have or will accept or adopt this policy. What is your other question?

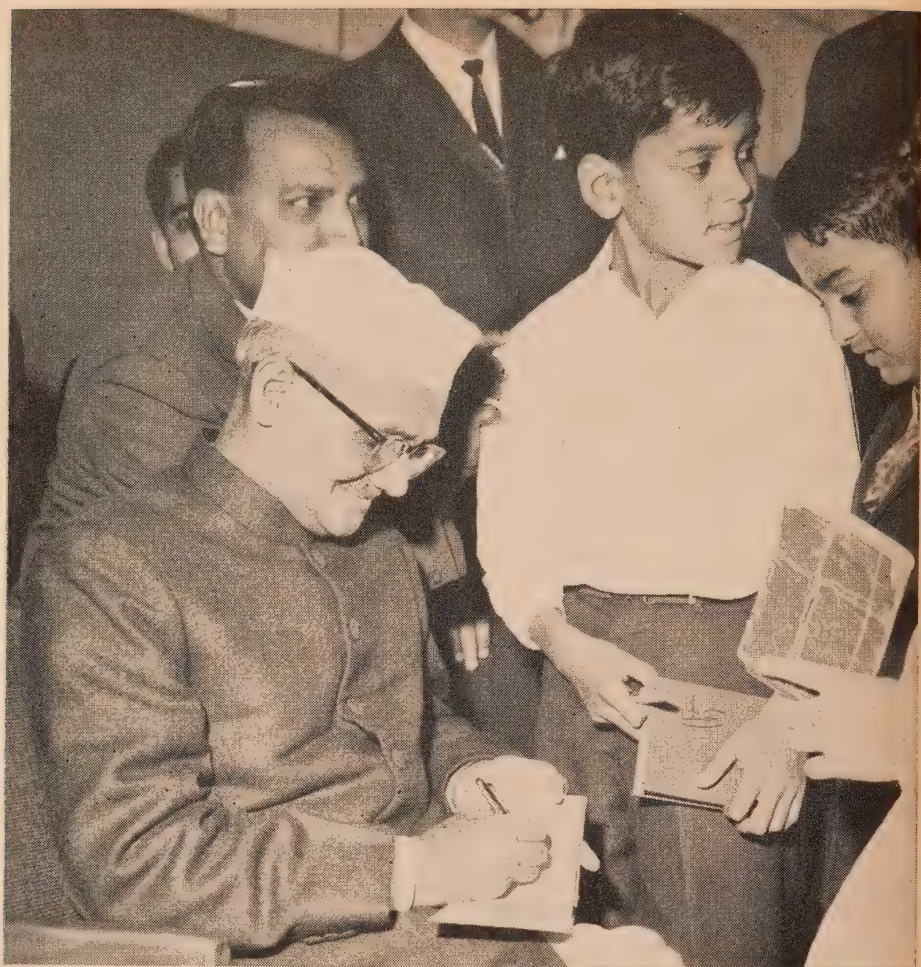
Question — I asked, how effective a role you feel India could play in peace keeping in the future?

Answer — I think a non-aligned country has greater chances in helping to maintain peace. India has been playing its own role in this regard, and we hope to continue playing it and to contribute to its logical objective.

Question — On the question of peace keeping in the United Nations, so long as there is no discussion towards making the UN effective again as a peace-keeping agency, would you agree that it is necessary that the General Assembly retain the power to authorize peace-keeping operations, if the Security Council cannot act?

Answer — Well, generally, it is for the Security Council to consider it and make decisions. However, as you are aware, there is considerable difference of opinion over this. I should not like to indicate my views on the details of this question just at present.

Question — Mr. Prime Minister, could you give us your views on the decision in the Middle East, following your discussions with President Nasser, as to how long you feel Canadians and Indians, among others, will have to remain in the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East?



Prime Minister Shastri signs autograph-books for Indian children living in Ottawa.

Answer — That is very difficult for me to say how long the forces will have to stay there. It is one of the problems which is naturally a serious one, and is under active consideration of the international community. I do hope that, so far as possible, it will be peacefully settled. It is difficult for me to indicate the time it would take.

Question — Do you feel the forthcoming talks with Chou En-lai will help to facilitate peace negotiations in Vietnam? Have you any plan which you propose to give?

Answer — We shall be meeting in conference; and in the conference and its surroundings there are many opportunities for different delegations to meet and have a conference themselves. But before an important meeting it is always better

to have some kind of preliminary preparation, discussions for preparing the ground for a summit meeting. As I said, we may have an opportunity to meet each other in the conference.

Joint Communiqué

. . . The Prime Minister of India had discussions with Prime Minister Pearson, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin; with the Minister of Finance, the Honourable Walter Gordon; with the Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp; and with the Minister of Industry and Defence Production, the Honourable Charles M. Drury. The High Commissioner for Canada to India, the Honourable Roland Michener, and Canadian officials attended the discussions. The Prime Minister of India was assisted by the Indian High Commissioner to Canada, Mr. B. K. Acharya, Mr. L. K. Jha, Secretary to the Prime Minister, and Mr. R. Prasad, Joint Secretary to the Prime Minister.

In the course of their talks, the two Prime Ministers dealt with the wide range of relations between India and Canada, with questions expected to arise at the forthcoming meeting of Commonwealth heads of government, and with the main international problems of the day. The talks disclosed understanding and respect for each other's point of view and a wide area of agreement on many world issues.

The two Prime Ministers expressed satisfaction with the friendship and co-operation which have at all times marked relations between India and Canada. They looked forward with confidence to the continuation of this warm relation in the future.

Co-operation between the two countries extends to many fields, particularly the economic field. The Prime Minister of India expressed appreciation for the assistance extended by Canada to India under the Colombo Plan and for the co-operation between the two countries in promoting the economic development of India. The Prime Minister of Canada reiterated Canada's deep and continuing interest in the economic development of India and in the success of India's Five-Year Plans.

Both Prime Ministers agreed on the urgent need to raise the standards of living of the peoples of developing countries. They recognized the responsibility of both the developed and developing countries to co-operate in this task and welcomed the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as an organization which could make a vital contribution toward the elimination of disparities in economic conditions through more rapid economic growth.

† The two Prime Ministers re-affirmed their support for the United Nations and their desire to see the world organization develop into an effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the promotion of

understanding and co-operation among nations. The Prime Ministers noted that the present year marked the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations and was being celebrated as International Co-operation Year. They hoped that it would usher in an era of increased United Nations activity and better international co-operation in the cause of world peace and prosperity.

They noted with concern and regret the difficulties that stood in the way of the functioning of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. They expressed their sincere hope that these difficulties would be overcome as a result of the discussions now going on in the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations and that the world body would emerge the stronger after the crisis.

It was also noted that both governments shared the desire to strengthen practical arrangements for United Nations peace keeping. Both have been major participants in United Nations peace-keeping operations and continue to provide contingents of their armed forces for service in the United Nations Emergency Force in Gaza as they had done throughout the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Congo. An Indian delegation participated in the discussions between military experts on the technical military aspects of United Nations peace keeping which took place in Ottawa last November. The Prime Ministers agreed that, whatever the constitutional and other difficulties which stood in the way of collective responsibility for United Nations peace keeping, it was imperative that a solution be found which would enable the United Nations to continue to fulfil this essential role in future.

The two Prime Ministers re-affirmed their support for the attainment of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. They discussed the great danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons and agreed that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee should devote itself, as a matter of priority, to finding a solution to this problem. They called upon all states to abide by the spirit and provisions of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. They emphasized the importance of taking early steps for the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty, so as to cover underground tests as well.

The Prime Ministers expressed their deep regret and concern over the series of nuclear tests to which the People's Republic of China has devoted itself in defiance of a world opinion which strongly opposes the continuance of tests in any environment. These tests represent a setback to current efforts to achieve non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Prime Minister of Canada expressed particular satisfaction at India's decision not to use nuclear energy for other than peaceful purposes, despite India's technical capability to produce nuclear weapons.

They further expressed their satisfaction at their mutual association in the International Control Commissions in Indochina during the last 11 years. They recognized the difficulties in the functioning of the Commissions in the present circumstances.

While recognizing that it had not always been possible for Canadian and

Indian views to coincide on every aspect of the consideration of the difficult problems arising before the Commissions, both Prime Ministers agreed that their mutual association in the Commissions had been useful, and re-affirmed their desire that their representatives in the Commissions should make every effort with a view to encouraging implementation of the Agreements, which it is the task of the Commission to supervise.

The Prime Ministers examined the situation in Vietnam and considered the measures open to them to try to bring peace to that country. They reviewed their efforts to try to interest the powers directly involved in a cease-fire, in unconditional negotiations, and in greater international participation in and responsibility for bringing about and guaranteeing a cease-fire and any agreement which might accompany or succeed it. They expressed their regret that lack of respect for the Cease-Fire Agreement, as reported by the Commission in 1962, had led to the present higher level of hostilities. They were convinced that a purely military solution was neither practicable nor desirable.

They hoped that it might still be possible for the combatants to curtail hostilities or to initiate periods of cease-fire which might become permanent; they also expressed the hope that earlier proposals for negotiations without pre-conditions would still yield results. They agreed to work for a solution to the Vietnam problem which will enable the people of Vietnam to enjoy freedom and independence. Any settlement should be suitably guaranteed by the international community.

Both Prime Ministers expressed concern at the increasing tendency to use force for the settlement of disputes, and the Prime Minister of Canada reiterated Canada's sympathy and support for India in its border conflict with China. He expressed the hope that the problem will be resolved peacefully and that China would agree to talks with India on the basis of the proposals of the six non-aligned countries formulated in Colombo in December 1962, which India had accepted.

The Prime Minister of India expressed his pleasure at visiting Canada and establishing contacts with Canadian leaders and people. He expressed deep appreciation of the warm hospitality extended to him and members of his party. He extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of Canada to visit India. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Canadian Technical and Educational Assistance

TEACHER, UNIVERSITY AND ADVISER PROGRAMMES

Teacher Programme

Before 1960, only a small number of teachers were assigned abroad under the Canadian Government's aid programmes. That year, however, marked the beginning of the current comprehensive plan through which teachers and teacher trainers at the secondary level, as well as teacher trainers at the primary level, are provided to developing countries. The increasing number of requests for teachers received from the governments of these countries is a reflection of the greater priority they give to the expansion and improvement of their educational facilities in the light of the critical importance to economic growth of adequate supplies of trained manpower. The following table illustrates the growth of the programme since its inception:

Table "A"

<i>Teachers Serving Abroad by Academic Year</i>					
1960-61	—	16	1963-64	—	158
1961-62	—	43	1964-65	—	261
1962-63	—	119	1965-66	—	450 (estimate)

The ultimate objective of educational assistance, including the Teacher Programme, is to help the developing countries strengthen their economies to the point where they will be able to meet their requirements from their own resources. Consequently, priority is given to meeting requests for highly-qualified teachers and teacher trainers with considerable experience for key positions where they can make the maximum contribution to the local educational system. Teachers of academic subjects must have a number of years of professional experience, university degrees and teaching certificates; vocational teachers must have specialist certificates from their respective provinces. Also, Canada has made every effort to meet requests for teachers and teacher trainers of subjects that have a close bearing on economic and social development, such as mathematics, science, languages, and technical and commercial subjects. Table "B" provides a breakdown by category and subject of the teachers overseas during the 1964-65 academic year:

Table "B"

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Teacher Trainers</i>	<i>Total</i>
Science/Mathematics	76	34	110
Languages	51	27	78
Technical Subjects	18	6	24
Others	11	38	49
Totals	156	105	261

The time-table of operations of the Teacher Programme is determined in large measure by the fact that the Canadian academic year begins in September, and the planning of each year's programme must begin at least one year in advance. Operations follow through a number of stages, beginning with the receipt of requests from the developing countries and the recruiting of candidates, followed by the nomination, briefing, and fielding of those selected. The governments of the developing countries are asked to submit their requests in early November for Canadian teachers for the subsequent academic year. In this connection, it should be emphasized that the basic responsibility for determining priorities rests with the recipient governments, which are asked to indicate clearly the nature of the assignment, including the duties to be performed and the qualifications required. This information is essential if Canada is to be able to choose the most suitable teachers to meet the requests received.

At the same time, the External Aid Office undertakes the preliminary stages in the recruiting of teachers. A roster of qualified candidates is maintained on the basis of applications submitted throughout the year. In addition, advertisements are placed in the major newspapers across the country as well as in teachers' publications. All applications received from teachers are carefully assessed and the dossiers of those who appear to have the necessary qualifications are sent to the provincial departments of education, which, since 1962, have assisted in the selection of teachers by establishing interview panels to carry out a preliminary screening of candidates. In this way, the External Aid Office obtains the benefit of the professional expertise of the provincial departments, and this has contributed to a significant degree to the success of the Teacher Programme. In 1964, a conference was held in Ottawa to brief the chairmen of the interview panels on recent developments in the aid programmes and provide an opportunity for the provincial authorities and officials of the External Aid Office to exchange views on objectives and operations.

After the completion of the interviews, the provinces return to the External Aid Office the dossiers of the applicants, with their recommendations. These are studied in the light of the specific requests which by this time have been received. At this stage, particular individuals are nominated to those positions in the de-

veloping countries which it has been decided Canada should attempt to fill. Firm offers of employment are made to teachers after they and their families have passed a medical examination and their nominations have been accepted by the host governments.

The next stage of operations is the briefing of teachers, which, in various forms, extends up to the time of their departure from Canada. It consists of reading and correspondence, special courses and a final briefing conference. Teachers are provided with information gained in the operation of previous years' programmes, reports received from Canadian diplomatic missions abroad, and excerpts from the reports of Canadian teachers already on assignment. In addition, new teachers are asked to write to their colleagues overseas and to the principals of the schools to which they have been assigned to obtain additional details on school facilities, curricula and living conditions. It is also suggested that they draw on the resources of their local libraries and contact any individuals in their communities who may have visited or lived in the countries concerned. Those who will be teaching English as a second language are required to take a special course held in Toronto by the Ontario Department of Education during July. The External Aid Office supplements this course by conducting a series of seminars on the special problems of teaching English as a second language in a developing country. These are chaired by External Aid teachers who have had experience in teaching the subject overseas. Also in July, teacher trainers attend a special refresher course given by Macdonald College of McGill University on the philosophy, techniques and methods of teaching.

The culmination of the briefing takes the form of a general conference held for four days at Macdonald College at the end of August, just before the teachers and their families leave for their assignments. Part of this conference is devoted to lectures and films, but the major emphasis is placed on seminars on various countries, chaired by teachers who have served in the areas concerned. These seminars offer the best opportunity for teachers and their wives to consider in perspective their particular assignments and living conditions abroad. The seminar discussions and the general conference lectures provide teachers with an opportunity to discuss with each other, and with those who have already served abroad, the various points of interest to them. These discussions also help to instill a sense of group participation in the aid programmes.

In order to achieve greater continuity of instructions and permit teachers to make a more effective contribution, the External Aid Office offers contracts for an initial period of two years. A contract may be extended up to five years if funds are available, and if the host government, the teacher, and the External Aid Office are agreed that the assignment should be continued. While serving overseas, a teacher receives a fee based on his Canadian earnings and an allowance designed to compensate for the additional costs incurred as a result of living abroad. This allowance is related to the teacher's fee and the number of his dependents, as well as to the cost of living in the country of his assignment. The

External Aid Office also pays the costs of international transportation for the teacher and his dependents as well as the costs of packing and shipping his personal effects and part of the storage costs for household items left in Canada. When teachers are provincial or federal civil servants, they are normally seconded to the External Aid Office, and the department concerned pays the teacher's salary and allowances subject to reimbursement from aid-programme funds. In this way, the teacher retains his formal connection with his Canadian employer, thus protecting his various entitlements such as superannuation and seniority.

The host government, for its part, provides various elements of local support for Canadian teachers. In a very real sense, educational-assistance programmes are co-operative efforts between the donor and recipient. In particular, local governments supply rent-free or at a nominal rent partly-furnished accommodation, local transportation while on official duty, exemption from local income taxation, and duty-free import privileges for personal effects.

The increase in the size of the Teacher Programme during the last few years is a gratifying indication of the interest of Canadian educators in helping the developing countries with one of their most critical problems. Experience with the Programme since its inception indicates that this is an area in which Canadian capabilities can meet a real need in the developing countries. As a result of the wide variety of social and economic conditions that have moulded educational systems in Canada, Canadian educators have had to adopt a flexible approach to the solution of their problems. Teachers serving under Canada's educational-assistance programmes have brought to their work overseas the same quality of flexibility that is, of course, admirably suited to the complicated educational problems of a developing country.

While it is hoped that there will continue to be some expansion, it is recognized that teachers are in short supply in Canada and it is likely that future growth will be at a more modest rate. Moreover, the ability of the developing countries to make fully effective use of senior teachers from overseas is limited by the stage of development of their educational institutions, which depends in part on the local funds available for expansion and improvement. It might be noted in this general connection that the reports of teachers in the field have been of particular value in planning and implementing the Teacher Programme. In fact, the format of the reports is designed to elicit information from the teachers concerning the amount of progress they have made on their assignments and, specifically, their recommendations are sought as to whether there is a continuing need for Canadian teachers or whether local counterparts are able to take over from them.

University Programme

Developing countries are not, of course, confining their efforts in the field of education to improving primary and secondary school facilities. As more and more students graduate from secondary schools, there is an increased need to establish and expand university facilities, and the developing countries have turned to Canada for assistance.

Canada has, therefore, agreed to provide university personnel under a scheme that may be regarded in the field of higher education as a counterpart to the Teacher Programme. The growth in the number of university staff serving on overseas assignments is reflected in the following table:

Table "C"
University Personnel Serving Abroad
by Academic Year

1962 - 1963	—	11
1963 - 1964	—	26
1964 - 1965	—	61
1965 - 1966	—	110 (estimate)

Some professors have been sent abroad on individual contracts or on the basis of secondment from their universities, and others have been provided by their universities as members of a team under general contractual arrangements between the universities and the External Aid Office. Canadians have undertaken such individual assignments as a Professor of Metallurgy at Banaras University in India, Professor of Organic Chemistry, University of Guyana, British Guiana, Professor of Nutrition at the University of Ghana, Professor of Electronics, University of Karachi, Pakistan, and many others. The first team project was undertaken in 1961 by the University of British Columbia, which agreed to help the Universities of Malaya and Singapore by establishing courses in accounting and business administration over a five-year period. Experience with this project, which is now in its final year, has indicated that there are important advantages inherent in this kind of contractual arrangement, which permits a flexibility of operation and a concentration of effort. It is hoped that these projects will lay the foundations for continuing links between Canadian universities and universities in the developing countries. Consequently, other similar projects have been entered into — for example, with the University of Toronto in establishing a Regional Engineering College at Mangalore, India, and with the University of Manitoba in establishing Faculties of Engineering and Agriculture at the University of the North East in Thailand. A major project of this type in French-speaking Africa involves the establishment of the National University of Rwanda at Butare; Canada is providing 23 members to the staff.

Most of the Canadian professors assigned overseas have been pioneering the establishment of new faculties and new courses. It will be appreciated that it requires senior personnel with considerable experience to take on this type of challenging assignment. There are, however, difficulties in recruiting highly qualified university professors because of the rapid expansion in Canada of university facilities and the consequent shortage of staff. This difficulty has been alleviated to some extent by the general contractual arrangements described above whereby

a university assumes responsibility for locating suitable candidates either from its own resources or from another university in Canada. From what has been said, it will be understood that the recruiting and briefing of university professors proceeds on a much more individualistic basis than the recruiting of teachers. Of particular importance are contacts with key people in various university faculties and professional associations, and mention might also be made of the helpful advice and assistance given by government departments, which, in a number of cases, have released members of their staffs to assume overseas university assignments.

The financial and administrative arrangements made for individual university professors parallel those made for teachers. Under the general contractual arrangements made with universities, the responsibility for administration rests with the university and a financial contribution is made by the External Aid Office to cover both the costs of administration as well as of the project itself. In addition, efforts have been made to gear the operation of the programme to the academic year along lines similar to that of the Teacher Programme. This is of importance in the recruitment of university personnel, since it is essential for professors, as well as their universities, to be informed of possible overseas assignments well in advance if the necessary arrangements are to be made for their leave of absence. The duration of the university assignments is somewhat more flexible than those for teachers and the initial period may vary from one to two years; in some cases, where preliminary surveys are required, assignments may be for shorter periods. Regular reports are received from professors on their progress and, in the case of contractual arrangements, there is normally a project director who is responsible for sending reports to the External Aid Office on the operation of the entire project.

Advisers

Canada also provides technical advisers in virtually every field of economic and social development. The duties of many of these advisers are either directly or indirectly educational in nature. In many instances the assignments involve a degree of counterpart training, though, in some cases, advisers are assigned to operational positions so that vital services or surveys can be carried out while local personnel receive training abroad. At present, there are some 115 Canadian advisers overseas in such fields as taxation, wheat breeding, plant pathology, soil and geological surveying, farm forums, forest inventory, fisheries development, community development, transportation, economics, metallurgical research, neurology, pathology, orthopaedics, nurse training, management training and machine accounting.

Because of the rapidly increasing domestic demand for a relatively small number of well-trained personnel in various fields, some difficulties have been encountered in locating Canadians who are well qualified and willing to undertake assignments abroad. There are, however, a number of fields in which Canadian

capabilities are particularly well suited to meeting requests from developing countries, such as natural resources development, water transport, co-operatives and community development, statistics, and technical education.

Although the financial arrangements made for advisers are similar to those for teachers and university personnel, the administrative aspects of their assignments vary to some extent. For example, they are usually offered initial contracts for a period of up to one year, renewable annually. Their recruiting is a more specialized process because of the highly individual nature of the requests, and bears a closer resemblance to the recruiting of university professors than of teachers. In locating suitable candidates, the External Aid Office has relied heavily on the assistance of consultants in government agencies at all levels, professional associations and private organizations. Also, because advisers leave Canada at various times during the year, their briefing must be undertaken on an individual basis. Nevertheless, as in the case of teachers and university personnel, advisers are provided with copies of reports from Canadian diplomatic missions and those who are serving or have served in the areas concerned. Advisers submit regular reports on their assignments, including a detailed final report containing an assessment of their progress; these reports are normally supplemented with interviews when they return to Canada.

By way of general comment on the work of advisers, teachers, and university personnel, it should be pointed out that many of them who have served overseas have found their assignments one of the most rewarding parts of their career and have felt that they returned to Canada with deeper insights and broader horizons. As a result, Canada derives important benefits from its participation in technical and educational-assistance programmes.

Conclusion

This article, with a previous one on training programmes⁽¹⁾, has attempted to outline the nature and scope of the Canadian Government's technical and educational assistance programmes. As has been indicated, one of the significant features of these programmes is their substantial growth during recent years. Of perhaps even greater importance, however, are qualitative considerations. Because of the vast needs of the developing countries and the limitations on the availability of resources from all donor countries, including Canada, which can be devoted to technical and educational assistance, it is of critical importance to ensure that projects that are supported will make the maximum contribution to the development of local facilities. As has been described, Canada has tailored its technical and educational programmes with this objective in mind. Mention has been made, for example, of the establishment of group-training programmes specially designed to meet the needs of overseas students, the concentration of the Teacher Programme on teacher trainers and senior teachers who occupy key positions in the

⁽¹⁾See the April 1965 issue, Page 131.

educational systems of the developing countries, the support given to the establishment of new faculties in overseas universities, and the emphasis given to the counterpart training role of technical advisers. Of particular importance is the priority the External Aid Office has given to supporting composite projects — that is, the building and equipping of schools and colleges, the provision of the initial staff and training in Canada of selected personnel who will later return home to form the senior staff of these institutions. It is along these lines that Canada will, in co-operation with other donor countries, international agencies, and the voluntary organizations whose activities complement official programmes, continue to help with the establishment and expansion of educational institutions capable of playing their full part in the efforts of the developing countries to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

Canada and Nepal

ACCREDITATION OF FIRST CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

The Honourable D. Roland Michener recently presented his letters of credence as the first Canadian Ambassador to Nepal. The following report gives an interesting account of his first visit to this Himalayan kingdom:

On January 18, 1965, the Canadian and Nepalese Governments announced the establishment of diplomatic relations. The *agrément* of the Government of His Majesty King Mahendra having been received in early February, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, announced on February 24 the concurrent accreditation as first Canadian Ambassador to Nepal of the Honourable D. Roland Michener, Canadian High Commissioner to India.

Ambassador's First Visit

After some weeks of negotiations for an appointment to present myself to the King of Nepal, it appeared that Wednesday April 28 would be an acceptable date.



Left to right: Mrs. Roland Michener; the Canadian Ambassador to Nepal, the Honourable Roland Michener; Mr. G. Périard; Mrs. H. H. Grantham; the Right Honourable S. B. Thapa, Chairman, Council of Ministers of Nepal.

My wife and I set off from Delhi on April 23, travelling by air to Banaras and Patna, the nearest airport to the border, and thence by car to Kathmandu, a distance of some 340 miles. This approach, rather than direct flight to Kathmandu, had been properly recommended so that we would have an automobile available in Kathmandu but more particularly to give an opportunity to see something of the country from the border town of Birganj to the capital. From Birganj this route traverses about 51 miles of the Ganges Plain which forms the southern fringe of Nepal and is known as the Terai. Before one reaches the foothills in this part of Nepal, the terrain is indistinguishable from the adjoining Indian State of Bihar. The remaining 87 miles of the road to Kathmandu, which was built by India as a form of aid, is a remarkable mountain highway zigzagging up and down the lower Himalayas to a high point of 8,200 feet and down again to Kathmandu Valley. At the summit, a glorious view can be had of the high Himalayas, which fill the northern horizon with great snow-covered peaks from Mount Everest (29,002 feet) on the east to Annapurna 3 (26,041) on the west. For some distance a cable skyway runs parallel to the road and carries freight both ways from the railhead into the valley of Kathmandu. There are numerous small villages near the highway, some in the valleys and others perched on the sides and tops of the mountains, which are either forest covered or terraced for farming. We were not prepared by our reading about Nepal for these remarkable terraces carved by human toil in the mountainside to create flat, narrow, contoured strips of land where there is naturally nothing but sloping mountainside. The terraces extend sometimes for as much as 1,500 feet from the bottom of the valley to the top of the mountain. Well-built, two-storey brick houses with overhanging roofs and carved wooden doors and window frames dot the terraces. Many of them are picturesquely perched on the tops of the mountains.

A good many sturdy Nepalese were to be seen on the road, some tending their cattle and goats, some working on the road, and others, both men and women, packing on their backs, with tump-lines over their foreheads, heavy loads of firewood, grain or other materials. This is the normal means of moving freight in the mountains, where there are few roads and deep valleys intersect the country from north to south.

The final descent to the capital city, which has an altitude of 4,400 feet, gives a panoramic view of the beautiful, fertile valley of Kathmandu, some 20 miles in length. It sustains the largest concentrated population in Nepal and is the site of three ancient cities, Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon, each the capital of a Malla kingdom before the unification of Nepal by the Ghurkas in the eighteenth century.

Presentation of Credentials

Armed with my Letter of Credence from Her Majesty the Queen, (which is traditionally addressed to "My Good Brother, the King of Nepal" and ends "Sir, My Brother, Your Majesty's Good Sister Elizabeth R",) and accompanied by three officers from the High Commission, Colonel R. G. Graham, Military Ad-

viser, Mr. J. A. Millard and Mr. G. Périard, Second Secretaries, as well as by the Nepalese Chief of Protocol, Mr. P. C. Thakur, I presented myself at the palace at 4:30 p.m. on April 28 and was graciously received by the King, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Palace Affairs as well as the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Right Honourable Surya Bahadur Thapa, and several members of His Majesty's staff.

After I had presented the Letter and my address to His Majesty and received his address in reply, all in silence, there were general introductions and then we seated ourselves for a few minutes of conversation, which consisted of my answering four or five questions posed by His Majesty through the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The first two questions were about the health of our Queen and Governor General, and the others about the time of my arrival and return. I took the opportunity to express my appreciation of our welcome and to praise the beauty and interest of the country.

Calls and Social Activities

The members of the Canadian mission used the available time to call on government and diplomatic officials. During the visit, moreover, our mission and a number of Canadians resident in Kathmandu were entertained at tea by Dr. Grantham (UN Technical Representative) and his wife and at dinner by the British Ambassador and his wife. The latter also held a luncheon for Mrs. Michener and myself, at which we met the Indian and German Ambassadors and their wives. We returned this hospitality and invited government and other diplomats to a reception in the Hotel Royal, shortly after the presentation of credentials. The following day we attended a similar reception given by the Swiss Ambassador, who was also in Kathmandu to present his credentials. An open-air dinner was given by the Foreign Secretary in honour of both of the new Ambassadors on the great front balcony of the Secretariat, an amazing old Rana palace of more than 1,200 rooms (how many no one seems to know for sure — few people can find their way about it without an expert guide).

General Impressions

There was little time to explore the many old Hindu temples and shrines, mostly pagodas, the Buddhist stupas and monasteries, as well as the many fine nineteenth-century palaces which are to be found in the three cities and the many villages of the Valley. It is an ancient civilization, antedating the Christian era by many centuries and characterized by fine carvings in stone and wood and excellent metal handicrafts. We did form a most favourable impression of the Nepalese of today, a self-reliant, cheerful and hospitable people of Indo-Aryan and Mongolian origins. It will be a pleasant duty to get to know them better, to understand their needs and to help them to improve their schools and training centres, their agricultural techniques and the facilities for transportation and communication which are needed to bring the whole nation of nine and a half million people into closer unity.

Canadian Consulate General Opened in Marseilles

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, officially opened the new Canadian Consulate General in Marseilles on May 5, 1965, in the presence of M. Robert Cousin, Prefect of Provence, Côte d'Azur, Corsica and Bouches du Rhône, M. Jacques Rastouin, Senior Assistant to the Mayor of Marseilles, M. Eugène Bussière, the first Canadian Consul General in Marseilles, and several French and Canadian personalities.

On this occasion, Mr. Martin held a reception during which he officially inaugurated the Consulate General and made the following speech:

I have come here today to introduce Canada to you by inaugurating its permanent presence in Marseilles through a Consulate General. My country, as you know, is geographically vast. In fact, it is the second largest in the world, after Russia and just before China. Yet this country, so large in extent, looks much smaller on the plane of history. It is still a young country compared with France or with such an old city as Marseilles. It occupies, in fact, only a short span of history. Its international personality, however, has developed rapidly, particularly since the Second World War, so that one might aptly apply to it the exclamation of César, speaking of his son Marius, in Marcel Pagnol's masterpiece: "Hé, il est grand, ce petit" ("How big he is, this little fellow"). Forgive me if I am unable to render the exact accent of Mr. Pagnol's characters. We in Canada, however, have kept an accent of our own — even several accents. I feel it is a good thing that Canada should come to Marseilles and speak to you in its own particular way.

What, then, are the reasons for opening this Canadian Consulate General in Marseilles? What have we to say to each other, with or without an accent? I think there is much we already have to say to one another, and there will be even more as the years go by. We belong to two rapidly developing modern countries, and we need to know each other and to develop our mutual relations. France has already opened consulates in ten large Canadian cities. The time has come for us to follow suit and to open a Consulate General in Marseilles, France's largest seaport, at the mouth of the Rhône. In this respect Marseilles resembles Montreal, Canada's largest port, on the St. Lawrence River.

Another reason for opening a Consulate General here is the presence, beyond the picturesque Canebière and the charming resort area of the Côte d'Azur, of a powerful industrial region occupying both banks of the Rhône, the normal access to which is through Marseilles.

Still another reason is that we in Canada have not forgotten our European origins, and wish to conserve, and from time to time, rediscover, the deeper springs of our heritage. We have felt the need for a window on the Mediterranean, that centuries-old source of civilization. But at no time, of course, have we lost con-



Present at a reception held by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, the Honourable Paul Martin, at the official opening of the Canadian Consulate General in Marseilles (left to right): M. Jean Chapdelaine, Delegate General of Quebec in Paris; M. Eugène Bussière, Canada's first Consul General in Marseilles; Mr. Martin; M. Robert Cousin, Prefect of the Department of the Bouches du Rhône; and M. Jules Léger, Ambassador of Canada in France.

tact with our French and British origins; on the contrary, we possess long-established relations with London and Paris. We wish, however, to reach back beyond Paris to our Mediterranean beginnings. Where could we do this better than in this region of France, which saw the height of Gallo-Roman civilization, some of whose monuments, such as the Pont-du-Gard, are still to be seen at Nîmes and Arles and other ancient centres? This Consulate General, therefore, will have not only consular interests but cultural ones as well.

This is the reason we have chosen M. Eugène Bussière as our first Consul General of Canada in Marseilles. You will readily appreciate his high qualification for this new position when I mention the fact that he was previously a senior officer of the Canada Council, one of the most important Canadian agencies in the realm of the arts, of which he has been a pillar since its establishment in 1957.

We already had an Embassy in Paris. We have had for some time a Consulate General in Bordeaux. Now at last we have a Consulate General in Marseilles. Geographically speaking, from the point of view of consular responsibilities, we have divided France into three parts: our Embassy retains somewhat less than the northern half; our Consulate General in Bordeaux has received the whole of

Southwestern France, and the Consulate General in Marseilles will now have jurisdiction over Southeastern France, including the Lyons area. We knew already that we had had very precise historical relations with Northwestern France owing to the Norman, Breton or Percheron origins of our Canadian population. By including Saintonge and the Charentes in the territory of the Bordeaux office, we gave the latter a few other provinces from which some of our ancestors came. Our links with Southern France are less evident. The general belief is that our origins were mainly in Normandy and the Loire provinces.

Yet one should not forget that we Canadians are also Southerners to a certain extent. Thus, among the first settlers in the seventeenth century, there was one Bergeron who had been baptized in Aix in 1642, a Bessière (no doubt our Consul General will wish to call him Bussière in some later official speech) who was baptized in Villefranche in 1650, a Bezis who came from Arles, a Ledoux — also called Latreille — who came from Avignon, and even a Martin who was baptized in Lyons in 1657. I should not insist too much on this last name, for there are Martins almost everywhere in both our countries, and even in our Government, as you can see.

But the links between us are not only those that were established by history, at the family, political and military levels. Those links find an extension in our affection for France, one of our two mother countries. At no other time, perhaps, have Canadians shown so great an interest in France — not only Canadians in Quebec but in every other part of Canada, and of whatever origin.

It is in view of this interest that the Canadian Government has engaged resolutely in a policy of increased cultural exchanges with France as well as the other French-speaking countries. In this we have met with the eager concurrence and active support of the French Government.

It is a pleasure to have with me today the Canadian Ambassador in Paris, M. Jules Léger, one of the most distinguished members of our diplomatic service. I take this opportunity also to note the presence here of M. Jean Chapdelaine, the Delegate General of the Province of Quebec, who was kind enough to join us tonight, thus bearing testimony to our community of purpose. We are united in our desire to see a new impetus given to our relations with your country in all fields. We feel assured that this last-born of our consulates general will be successful in doing this, through M. Bussière's activities and your kind co-operation.

The participation in this function of such distinguished official personalities and other citizens of Marseilles is evidence that our aim is already achieved — the aim of rejuvenating an old friendship.

The Provinces and Treaty-Making Powers

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, issued the following statement on April 23, 1965:

The constitutional position in this country on the question of treaty-making is clear. Canada has only one international personality in the community of sovereign states. There is no doubt that only the Government of Canada has the power or authority to enter into treaties with other countries.

It is, nevertheless, true that, under the Canadian constitution as it has been interpreted, there is a lack of harmony between treaty-making and treaty-implementing powers. This creates special problems for Canada in respect of treaties concerning subjects of provincial legislative jurisdiction. The problem is not unique. Other federal states have adopted various approaches to the task of harmonizing treaty-making and treaty-implementing powers; but there is no federal state in the world whose constitution allows its members to make treaties freely and independently of the federal authorities. The reason for this is obvious. Independent treaty-making powers are the prerogative of sovereign states. A federal state whose members actually possess such powers would neither be a federal union nor a state. It would be an association of sovereign powers.

The Federal Government has exclusive responsibility for the conduct of external affairs as a matter of national policy affecting all Canadians. The policy of the Federal Government in discharging this responsibility is to seek to promote the interest of the entire country and of all Canadians of the various provinces within the overall framework of our national policy.

In respect of matters of specific concern to the provinces of Canada, it is the policy of the Canadian Government, in a spirit of co-operative federalism, to do its utmost to assist the provinces in achieving the particular aspirations and goals which they wish to attain. This was done, for example, in the case of the negotiations relating to the Columbia River.

Special Position of Quebec

It is clear that Quebec is the custodian of special cultural values and that this unique heritage cannot be developed in isolation from the French community. The Canadian Government recognizes that it is in the interest of Canada as a whole that this should be done. The pursuit of this objective is not in question. On the contrary, the Federal Government, for its part, is prepared to do all it can to assist Quebec in this regard. It recognizes that Quebec will play a major role in the achievement of these fundamental objectives.

The Canadian Government is ready and anxious to use its powers in the foreign-affairs field, within the framework of our national foreign policy, to assist Quebec and all the other provinces in furthering matters of special concern to

them. The attitude of the Federal Government has recently been illustrated by the *entente* signed by representatives of Quebec and France in the field of education in February 1965. The Quebec and federal authorities co-operated actively in a procedure which enabled the Province of Quebec, within the framework of our constitution and our national policy, to participate in international arrangements in a field of particular interest to that province.

Limits of Provincial Power

Thus, under existing procedures, the position is that, once it is determined that what a province wishes to achieve through agreements in the field of education or in other fields of provincial jurisdiction falls within the framework of Canadian foreign policy, the provinces can discuss detailed arrangements directly with the competent authorities of the country concerned. When a formal international agreement is to be concluded, however, the federal powers relating to the signature of treaties and the conduct of overall foreign policy must necessarily come into operation.

The approach of the Canadian Government to the question of Canadian representation in international organizations of a social, cultural or humanitarian character reflects the same constructive spirit. We recognize the desirability of ensuring that the Canadian representation in such organizations and conferences reflects in a fair and balanced way provincial and other interests in these subjects.

I hope that the course which would commend itself to all Canadians is the course of confidence in our ability in this country to adapt our federal institutions to present needs in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill, so that, drawing maximum strength from our united efforts, we can achieve together our national objectives.

Canada Ratifies the Geneva Red Cross Conventions

Instruments of ratification of the four Geneva Conventions for the Protection of War Victims of August 12, 1949, were deposited on May 14 last by the Canadian Embassy in Berne with the Swiss Government. Pursuant to the terms of the Conventions, they will enter into force for Canada in respect of all other contracting parties six months thereafter, that is, on November 14, 1965.

This group of four Conventions consists of:

- (1) The Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in the Armed Forces in the Field;
- (2) the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of the Armed Forces at Sea;
- (3) the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War;
- (4) the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

Enabling legislation was adopted at the last session of Parliament in the form of an Act Respecting the Geneva Conventions (1949), which received Royal Assent on March 18, 1965. The Act effected the necessary adjustments in Canadian statutes for Canada to carry out in full the provisions of the four Conventions. In introducing the Bill in the Senate on May 25, 1964, Senator A. D. Baird reviewed the history of the Conventions in the following terms:

The present text of these Geneva Conventions is the result of a development dating from 1864, when the original Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Soldiers in Armies in the Field was signed. In 1906, and again in 1929, revisions were made at Geneva of the original 1864 Convention. In 1929, also, a new Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war was drawn up and signed. Canada ratified both the 1929 Geneva Conventions in 1933.

In 1945 a general movement began for the revision of these Conventions, which resulted in a conference at Geneva in 1947, an International Red Cross Conference in Stockholm in August 1948 and, finally, in a diplomatic conference for the establishment of international conventions for the protection of victims of war, held at Geneva in 1949. Fifty-nine governments were represented at the diplomatic conference.

The first three of the 1949 Geneva Conventions represent a revision and a modification of the earlier international conventions; in some respects they afford greater protection and in others they are more practical than the earlier ones. The fourth Convention, relating to the treatment of civilians, is new in form and is designed to afford protection to categories of civilians who are particularly exposed to mistreatment in time of war.

... None of the Conventions is inconsistent with former conventions by which Canada is bound. There may be room for differences, on points of detail, in the Conventions, but I doubt if there is any room for disagreement with the fundamental principles upon which they are all based, and their ratification by Canada would be in keeping with this country's traditions of record for individual rights, human freedoms and the welfare of man.

At the time of signing the fourth, or so-called Civilian, Convention, Canada had entered a reservation to the second paragraph of its Article 68 whereby it

reserved the right to impose the death penalty on civilians guilty of certain serious wartime offences without regard to whether or not these offences were punishable by death under the law of an occupied territory at the time the occupation began. This single Canadian reservation was withdrawn at the time of ratification.

The Geneva Conventions have been ratified by more than 100 countries.

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR TO SYRIA



The presentation of the letters of credence of the first Canadian envoy to Syria took place in Damascus on May 27. The new Canadian representative, Mr. J. R. Maybee, who will continue to reside in Lebanon, is concurrently Ambassador to Lebanon and Jordan. In addition to Mr. Maybee, the above photograph includes, from left to right: H. E. Mr. Walid Taleb, Minister of Presidential and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs; H. E. General Amine El Hafez, President of the Presidential Council of the Syrian Arab Republic; Mr. Ibrahim Khoury, Foreign Affairs Adviser to the President; and Dr. Mamoun Atassi, Acting Secretary-General of the Presidency.

External Affairs in Parliament

Statement on Uranium Policy

The following is the text of an announcement made in the House of Commons on June 3 by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson:

As the House is aware, the Government has been reviewing its policy with respect to the export of uranium.

World requirements for uranium for peaceful purposes will increase very greatly in the years to come. Canada holds a substantial portion of the known uranium reserves of the world, and in the future may well be the largest single supplier for the rest of the world. It is vital that the Canadian industry be in the best possible position to take advantage of expanding markets for the peaceful uses of this commodity.

As one part of its policy to promote the use of Canadian uranium for peaceful purposes, the Government has decided that export permits will be granted, or commitments to issue export permits will be given, with respect to sales of uranium covered by contracts entered into from now on, only if the uranium is to be used for peaceful purposes. Before such sales to any destination are authorized, the Government will require an agreement with the government of the importing country to ensure, with appropriate verification and control, that the uranium is to be used for peaceful purposes only.

Canada has been a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency since its inception and successive Governments have vigorously supported the principle of safeguards on uranium sales. This policy is a fundamental part of Canada's general policy to work internationally to avoid the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

As to the commercial aspects of the policy, two general principles will apply, designed to facilitate exports and to ensure that the requirements of both export and domestic consumers are met in an orderly way.

First, the Government recognizes that countries constructing or planning to construct nuclear reactors will wish to make long-term arrangements for fuel supply. Accordingly, the Government will be prepared to authorize forward commitments by Canadian producers to supply reactors which are already in operation, under construction or committed for construction in other countries for the average anticipated life of each reactor, generally calculated for amortization purposes to be 30 years.

Second, and in addition, the Government will be prepared to authorize the export for periods of up to five years of reasonable quantities of uranium for the accumulation of stocks in the importing country.

Within the terms of the policy I have outlined, the Canadian Government will actively encourage and assist the Canadian uranium industry in seeking export markets. The commercial aspects of the policy will, of course, be reviewed from time to time in the light of changing conditions.

Finally, in order to avoid any reduction in the current level of employment and production in the industry in Canada, the Government will purchase uranium for stockpiling to the extent that current sales prove insufficient to achieve this objective during the next five years. These purchases will be made at a price of \$4.90 per pound of uranium oxide. Purchases will be made only from companies which have previously produced uranium, and will be limited in the case of each company willing to sell at \$4.90 to the amount necessary to maintain an appropriate minimum level of employment and production for that company.

As soon as the details of the stockpiling programme, including arrangements for eventual disposal, have been discussed with the uranium industry and decided upon, they will be announced to the House and Parliament will be asked to approve the necessary expenditure for the current fiscal year.

Canadian Contingent in Cyprus

To an inquiry on June 16 "whether or not Canada is going to continue with its peace-keeping forces in respect of the Cyprus situation", the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, replied:

. . . The Security Council did meet yesterday and we have received a formal request from the Secretary-General of the United Nations asking Canada to participate in the UN Force in Cyprus for a further six months by supplying a contingent of the same strength as in the past. The Government has decided to accept the invitation and to continue its participation in this Force which has rendered such valuable service on the island.

Voluntary Contributions to UN Treasury

On June 21 the following statement was made to the House of Commons by Mr. Martin as Acting Prime Minister:

. . . Members of the House will be aware that, in spite of the efforts of the United Nations Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, no agreement has been reached at the United Nations on methods to discharge the accumulated financial obligations occasioned by the refusal of some member states to pay their assessments for the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Operation in the Congo. The total debt is something over \$100 million.

In the hope that by constructive action the present deadlock might be broken, a number of governments are today announcing pledges of voluntary and unconditional contributions to help the United Nations out of its present financial difficulties, and they have so informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Canadian Government has participated in the consultations which led to this action, and I now wish to associate Canada with it. The Government has decided, subject to approval by Parliament, to make a similar pledge in the amount of \$4 million. I have instructed our Permanent Representative to the United Nations to convey this decision to the Secretary-General, and he will be doing so at 3.30 this afternoon. I also hope to see the Secretary-General later today or tomorrow to discuss this and other matters.

The Canadian Government's pledge is made without prejudice to our support for the policy of collective financial responsibility for duly authorized peace-keeping operations. Our understanding is that this pledge will form part of any formal agreement for contributions to relieve the organization's indebtedness if and when such agreement is reached. I do not exclude the possibility that at a later stage it may become necessary for us to supplement this pledge.

I should like to make it clear that, in coming to this decision, the governments associated with this initiative have not underestimated the serious differences which have thus far defied solution. But we believe that, rather than let the United Nations founder on this issue of principle, the time has come for as many states as possible to make a joint effort to restore the solvency of the United Nations, to create conditions which will make it possible for the Assembly to meet normally next September, and to preserve the capacity of the United Nations to continue to perform its essential functioning in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The group of member states which have joined in this initiative today have traditionally been in the forefront of those which have come to the aid of the United Nations in times of stress. Obviously we cannot, of ourselves, solve the problem. But we can give a lead, and this we have done in the hope and expectation that the action of these nations will persuade others to follow suit so that the United Nations will be restored to solvency by the time the next General Assembly reconvenes in September.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- International Labour Conference 49th Session: Geneva, June 2-25
- FAO Committee on Commodity Problems, 38th Session: Rome, June 7-18
- OECD Ministers of Agriculture: Paris, June 17-18
- Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference: London, June 17-25
- FAO Council, 44th Session: Rome, June 21
- International Civil Aviation Organization Assembly, 15th Session: Montreal, June 22 - July 19
- Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH), 8th General Assembly: Guatemala, June 25 - July 10
- Economic and Social Council, 39th Session: Geneva, June 30 - July 30
- 3rd UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders: Stockholm, August 9-18
- UNCTAD: Second Session of the Trade and Development Board, Geneva, August 24 - September 14
- World Population Conference: Belgrade, August 30 - September 10
- UN General Assembly, resumed Nineteenth Session, New York, September 1
- International Atomic Energy Agency, Ninth General Conference: Tokyo, September 20-30
- International Telecommunications Union Plenipotentiary Conference: Montreux, September-November
- UN General Assembly, Twentieth Session, New York, September 21
- FAO Biennial Conference: Rome, November-December
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Karachi, November 15 - December 2

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND SEPARATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. A. T. Chernushenko appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective May 10, 1965.
- Mr. R. R. Duffy appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Special Press Adviser, effective May 25, 1965.
- Mr. L. W. Ford appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Officer 2, effective May 25, 1965.
- Mr. B. C. Butler appointed High Commissioner to Malaysia, effective May 29, 1965.
- Mr. D. W. Campbell posted from Ottawa to Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, effective May 31, 1965.
- Miss R. C. Rodger appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective May 31, 1965.

- Mr. J. I. Doig appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 31, 1965.
- Mr. S. H. Heeney posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, effective June 3, 1965.
- Mr. D. C. Arnould posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. P. D. Courchesne appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. L. A. Delvoie-Kozlowski appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. J. L. Desrochers appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. J. M. Fraser posted from Ottawa to the Office of the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. W. J. Glaister appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. M. A. Godfrey appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. E. J. A. Hebert appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. T. S. E. Jones appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. C. Laverdure appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. J. C. Legg appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Miss M. L. Loggie appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. D. G. Longmuir appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. C. T. MacDonald appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. J. C. Noiseux appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. R. C. Smith appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. R. C. Stansfield appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective June 14, 1965.
- Mr. D. J. Whitelaw appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective June 14, 1965.
- Miss S. M. Wise appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII, No. 8

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Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, 1965

The following communiqué was released on June 25 at the conclusion of the meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers held in London from June 17 to 25, 1965:

At the meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers, which ended today, Pakistan, Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia were represented by their Presidents. Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Malawi, Malta and The Gambia were represented by their Prime Ministers. Jamaica was represented by the Acting Prime Minister; Ceylon by the Minister of Justice; Cyprus and Kenya by the Ministers of External Affairs.

This was the first meeting at which Malta, Zambia and The Gambia were represented as members of the Commonwealth; and the other Commonwealth heads of government were pleased to welcome them. The Prime Minister of The Gambia informed the meeting that it was his country's desire to continue its membership of the Commonwealth after introducing a republican form of constitution, and to accept the Queen as the symbol of the free association of the independent member nations and, as such, the head of the Commonwealth. The heads of delegations of the other member countries of the Commonwealth assured the Prime Minister of The Gambia that they would be happy to recognize The Gambia's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

The prime ministers took note that their meeting was being held during the International Co-operation Year, which itself stemmed from a proposal by the former Prime Minister of India, the late Mr. Nehru. They recorded their sympathy with its objectives and their desire to assist in its success.

The twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations fell on the last day of the meeting. The prime ministers sent a message of greeting and of good wishes to the organization to mark this occasion.

The prime ministers recognized that the Commonwealth, as a multi-racial association, is opposed to discrimination on grounds of race or colour; and they took the opportunity of their meeting to reaffirm the declaration in their communiqué of 1964 that, "for all Commonwealth governments, it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens".

In the course of a comprehensive review of the major current international issues, the prime ministers noted with concern that, despite the efforts of many

countries to promote peace and stability throughout the world, dangerous conflict, or the threat of conflict, persist in several areas. They expressed their conviction that in these circumstances all possible steps should be taken to reinforce the authority of the United Nations organization; and they discussed in this context the question of China's representation in the organization. They also reaffirmed their belief in the importance of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations; and they renewed their support for the efforts now being made by a committee of the United Nations to establish just and equitable principles for authorizing, organizing and financing peace-keeping operations. They considered it essential that the General Assembly, when it reconvened, should be able to function normally. They welcomed the voluntary and unconditional contributions which had been made to the United Nations in order to help towards relieving it of its financial difficulties; and they expressed the hope that, as a result of these and other actions, the United Nations would be able to discharge its functions. The prime ministers pledged their loyalty to the United Nations, the success of which they consider to be essential to the maintenance of world peace.

The prime ministers expressed serious concern over the grave situation in Vietnam and the danger of its developing into a major international conflict. They reviewed the various efforts which had been made to achieve a peaceful solution to the problem; and, bearing in mind that the Commonwealth, by virtue of its wide membership, represented a very broad spectrum of opinion in the world and that their meeting was taking place at a time when the peril to world peace was rapidly increasing, they considered, on the first day of the meeting, a proposal for a new attempt to move forward to a peaceful solution. To this end, a mission was established to make contact with the parties principally concerned with the problem of Vietnam.

The mission is composed of the Prime Minister of Britain, the President of Ghana and the Prime Ministers of Nigeria and of Trinidad and Tobago. The Prime Minister of Britain, as chairman of the meeting, was appointed chairman of the mission. Its object is to explore with the parties principally concerned how far there may be common ground about the circumstances in which a conference might be held leading to a just and lasting peace in Vietnam and, having ascertained such common ground, to seek agreement on a time, place and composition of a conference. The mission will report progress from time to time to the prime ministers by whom they were appointed. The meeting approved a statement of guidance to the mission, a copy of which is attached to this communiqué, together with copies of two statements issued by the mission.

Malaysia

The prime ministers reviewed other developments in Southeast Asia. They noted with concern that tension still persisted between Malaysia and Indonesia, thus disturbing the peace and security of the area, despite the interval since they had last collectively considered the matter and had stated in the communiqué issued at the end of their meeting in 1964 that "they assured the Prime Minister of Malaysia

of their sympathy and support in his efforts to preserve the sovereign independence and integrity of his country and to promote a peaceful and honourable settlement of current differences between Malaysia and neighbouring countries". They recognized and supported the right of the Government and people of Malaysia to defend their sovereign independence and territorial integrity, and expressed their sympathy to the Prime Minister of Malaysia in his country's efforts to this end. They looked forward to the establishment of peaceful, friendly and mutually advantageous relations between Malaysia and Indonesia on a just and honourable basis.

Cyprus

The prime ministers expressed concern about the situation regarding Cyprus. They reaffirmed their full support for the UN Security Council resolutions on the subject. The prime ministers asserted that the Cyprus problem should be solved within the framework of the UN and its Charter and in accordance with the principles of democracy and justice and in conformity with the wishes of the people of Cyprus.

They appealed to all countries concerned to act in accordance with the Security Council Resolution of the March 4, 1964, and to refrain from any action which might undermine the task of the United Nations peace-keeping force to which a number of Commonwealth countries are contributing. They also expressed their appreciation of the work and persistent efforts of the United Nations mediator.

Africa

The meeting took note of the widely expressed regret at the failure of the Portuguese Government to give due recognition to the legitimate political aspirations of the peoples of the Portuguese territories in Africa. The meeting expressed support for the application of the principle of self-determination to the inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. The prime ministers reaffirmed their condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa and unanimously called upon South Africa to bring the practice to an end.

Caribbean

In discussion of Caribbean problems the prime ministers took note of the situation in the Dominican Republic. They expressed the hope that peace would be restored there and a final settlement reached within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations on the basis of self-determination and in accordance with the wishes of the people of the Republic.

Disarmament

The prime ministers reaffirmed the aim which they had expressed in their statement on disarmament on March 17, 1961, namely, to achieve total and worldwide disarmament, subject to effective inspection and control. They commended

the thorough and useful work which has been done in furtherance of that aim by the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference since it first met in March 1962, both on general and complete disarmament and on preliminary measures to build international confidence. They recognized that the non-aligned members of the Conference, by playing a constructive and intermediary role, had contributed to the progress already achieved and had increased world understanding of the importance of disarmament.

The prime ministers believed that there was an urgent need for further progress in the disarmament field, both in the interests of world peace and in order to enable the nations of the world to devote their resources to more fruitful purposes. They considered that the problems involved in the elaboration of an agreement for general and complete disarmament should be re-examined, in the light of their Statement on Disarmament of March 1961, by the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva. They considered that, in order to create the optimum conditions for the success of their efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee should resume its detailed negotiations at Geneva with a view to reaching agreement on the next steps to disarmament which could be submitted to an eventual world disarmament conference, which should be open to participation by all states.

They welcomed the various proposals which had been put forward for measures to reduce tension and build up international confidence. They hoped that early progress would be made towards an acceptable agreement on some of these measures, including the limitation and reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles and a phased reduction in conventional armaments, as steps towards a world agreement for general and complete disarmament. They emphasized the urgency of arms control and recognized that in appropriate areas agreement on nuclear-free zones could assist such control. In this connection, the hope was expressed that, in the preparation of the appropriate treaties, the declarations by the Organization of African Unity and certain Latin American states regarding the establishment of nuclear-free zones in their own geographical areas would be respected.

The prime ministers emphasized that ways and means should be found for associating the People's Republic of China with future discussion on disarmament. Indeed, they felt that the importance of a solution of the disarmament problem had been underlined by the fact that, since their last meeting, the Government of the People's Republic of China had exploded two nuclear devices and had clearly demonstrated their intention to develop nuclear weapons.

The prime ministers wished to record their firm conviction that the continuing spread of nuclear weapons had created a serious danger to mankind. They believed that the development of new national nuclear-weapons capabilities might jeopardize further efforts to bring about general and complete disarmament. Moreover, the prospects for achieving a fair settlement of disputes would suffer as

international tension increased and there would be a growing risk that nuclear proliferation might cause a local conflict to escalate to a nuclear exchange into which the major nuclear powers might be drawn.

Accordingly, the prime ministers, fully aware of the gravity of the situation and of their responsibility to each other and to other members of the international community, expressed their determination to give urgent and wholehearted support to measures to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. To this end, they reaffirmed their willingness to join other countries in signing as soon as possible any appropriate international agreement which would halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

They expressed the hope that efforts to extend the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water should be extended to cover underground tests as well. They called on all nations to abstain from actions which might make agreement on general and complete disarmament or preliminary measures more difficult.

Dependent Territories

Britain made a summary statement to the meeting about the progress of British colonial dependencies towards independence. The independent members of the Commonwealth now amounted to no fewer than 21, with a total population of more than 750 million; Britain had 31 remaining dependencies with only 10 million inhabitants, of whom over half were in Hong Kong and the South Arabian Federation. Nineteen of these dependencies contained fewer than 100,000 people and six fewer than 10,000. It was hoped that many of these remaining dependencies would reach independence in the next three years — among them Basutoland, Bechuanaland, British Guiana, Swaziland and the South Arabian Federation, as well as some or all of the territories in the East Caribbean, whether in a federation or separately.

The prime ministers of the other Commonwealth countries noted with approval the further progress of British territories to independent membership of the Commonwealth since their last meeting. They welcomed the assurance of the Prime Minister of Britain that it remained the objective of his Government to lead to independence, on the basis of democratic government and the principle of universal adult suffrage, such of the remaining territories as desired it and could sustain it, and that the British Government would continue to seek to devise the most appropriate alternative arrangements for such smaller territories as were unable, or unwilling, to proceed to full independence.

With regard to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the view was expressed that such economic assistance and guarantees of territorial integrity as were necessary to maintain the territories as independent states should be given.

While differing views are held on the constitutional arrangements best suited to British Guiana, the prime ministers welcomed the British Government's intention to hold a conference later this year, one of the tasks of which would be to

devise a constitution for this dependency and to fix a date for independence. The prime ministers noted the British Government's recognition of the need for adequate machinery to ensure human rights and due judicial processes.

As regards the countries of the Eastern Caribbean, the meeting expressed the hope that the assistance urgently required to strengthen their economies and ensure their viability, so as to enable them to sustain the obligations of independence, would not be delayed by the discussions on political arrangements.

Rhodesia

The Commonwealth Secretary informed the meeting of the attempts which the British Government had made in recent months to resolve the problem of the further constitutional development of Rhodesia. He explained the considerations by which they were, and would continue to be, guided in their approach to the question of Rhodesian independence, and emphasized that central to these was the necessity to provide guarantees that future constitutional development should conform to the principle of unimpeded progress to majority rule, with an immediate improvement in the political status of the African population and the progressive elimination of racial discrimination. As it had repeatedly made clear, the British Government would only recommend to Parliament the grant of independence to Rhodesia if it was satisfied that this was on a basis acceptable to the people of the country taken as a whole. The Commonwealth Secretary emphasized the dangers of the use of force or unconstitutional methods by any party and reaffirmed, in this connection, the policies of the British Government as indicated in their statements of October 27, 1964, and April 29, 1965.

The heads of government of the Commonwealth took note of the Commonwealth Secretary's statement. They reaffirmed their previous statement that they were irrevocably opposed to any unilateral declaration of independence by the Government of Rhodesia, and further reaffirmed their insistence on the principle of majority rule.

While the prime ministers reaffirmed that the authority and responsibility for leading its remaining colonies, including Rhodesia, to independence must continue to rest with Britain, they also reaffirmed that the question of membership of the Commonwealth by an independent Rhodesia, or by any other newly-independent territory, would be a matter for collective Commonwealth decision.

The British Prime Minister was urged by his Commonwealth colleagues to convene a constitutional conference at an early date, say within three months, which all the political leaders in Rhodesia should be free to attend. They reaffirmed that the object of such a conference should be to seek agreement on the steps by which Rhodesia might proceed to independence within the Commonwealth at the earliest practicable date on a basis of majority rule. In this connection, they welcomed the statement of the British Government that the principle of "one man one vote" was regarded as the very basis of democracy and this should be applied to Rhodesia.

An appeal was made for the immediate release of all the detained or restricted African leaders as a first step to diminishing tensions and preparing the way for a constitutional conference. A further appeal was made that the death sentences passed on persons now awaiting execution for offences under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act should be respited.

It was further urged that, should the Rhodesian Government refuse to attend such a conference and to release the detainees, the British Government should introduce legislation to suspend the 1961 Constitution and appoint an interim government, which should repeal oppressive and discriminatory laws and prepare the way for free elections.

The British Government said that it was actively engaged in discussions with the Government of Rhodesia and undertook to take full account, in relation to these discussions, of all the views which had been expressed during the meeting. In this process of seeking to reach agreement on Rhodesia's advance to independence, a constitutional conference would, at the appropriate time, be a natural step. If the discussions did not develop satisfactorily in this direction in a reasonably speedy time, the British Government, having regard to the principle enunciated by the Commonwealth Secretary of unimpeded progress towards majority rule, would be ready to consider promoting such a conference in order to ensure Rhodesia's progress to independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

The prime ministers renewed their call to all leaders and their supporters in Rhodesia to abstain from violence and to co-operate in the work of fostering tolerance and justice, as the basis of a society in which all the inhabitants would be assured that their interests would be protected.

Economic affairs

The prime ministers then turned to consider problems of aid and development. They recognized that economic and social development constitute a long-term co-operative enterprise in which all countries could work together. The importance of economic planning in relation to development would call for an increased supply of experts; and concerted measures would, therefore, be required in order to enlarge and mobilize resources of this kind by means of adequate facilities for education and training.

The prime ministers appreciated the importance of programmes of economic aid to the developing Commonwealth countries. They took note of the contributions made to such programmes by Commonwealth countries both collectively and individually; and they agreed that these programmes should be maintained and expanded as far as possible. They endorsed the conception of co-operative forward planning of development aid which would apply not only to matching the assistance provided by the developed countries with the needs of the developing countries but also to the supply of personnel for schemes of technical assistance, to which they agreed that high priority should be given. They welcomed the establishment of the British Ministry of Overseas Development, together with the

decision of the British Government to provide loans free of interest in appropriate cases; they also expressed their appreciation of the similar loans already provided by the Government of Canada and of the fact that the Government of Australia made its aid available wholly on the basis of grants. It was suggested that, in those cases where financial assistance would remain unused, or give rise to serious internal problems, because of the inability of some recipient countries to finance local costs, donor countries should consider making financial contributions to cover a proportion of such costs. The prime ministers recognized the importance of the flow of direct investment to developing countries and expressed the hope that, so far as economic circumstances permitted, the minimum restriction would be placed in its way.

The prime ministers recorded their satisfaction at the constructive outcome of the Third Commonwealth Education Conference in Ottawa last August; they looked forward to an equally successful result for the Commonwealth Medical Conference, which is to be held in Edinburgh in October 1965.

The prime ministers agreed that effective development is promoted not only by aid but even more by trade. Moreover, they were convinced that an expanding exchange of goods and services, by emphasizing the interdependence of the countries of the world, was one of the most effective ways of promoting the growth of international understanding and the elimination of the causes of friction.

In further discussion of economic development in the Commonwealth, emphasis was laid on the importance to the economies both of Britain and of certain other Commonwealth countries of emigration to Britain from those countries. The prime ministers recognized that the extent of immigration into Britain was entirely a matter for the British Government to determine. The hope was expressed that, in operating such immigration controls as they might think necessary, the British Government would continue to give preferential treatment to Commonwealth citizens; and they welcomed the assurance of the British Prime Minister that there would be no differentiation in any restrictions on account of colour or creed.

The prime ministers welcomed the work which had been done since their last meeting in carrying forward the initial impetus to the expansion of trade which was provided by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; and they pledged themselves afresh to press for more outlets for the trade of developing countries.

They stressed the importance to the development of the economies of member countries of the Commonwealth of the prices obtained for their primary commodities, particularly where the prices of primary produce fell in relation to prices of manufactured goods. The low levels to which the prices of cocoa and some other commodities have fallen are a matter of serious concern to producers. The problem of commodity prices extended beyond the Commonwealth, and the prime ministers endorsed the need for consideration of the strengthening of existing international commodity agreements, where appropriate, and stressed the urgent need of negotiating further agreements of this kind.

The prime ministers agreed on the desirability of exploring means by which Commonwealth trade might be encouraged and expanded. One possibility would be to enable Commonwealth governments, in planning their economic development, to take into account each others' plans. An exchange of information of this kind might enable production to be more effectively matched to requirements in the Commonwealth and thus increase trade between Commonwealth countries.

The prime ministers accordingly agreed on the following measures designed to further these objectives, while at the same time reaffirming their support for the "Kennedy round" of tariff negotiations now proceeding at Geneva, which these measures will not affect. They agreed to arrange discussions between officials of Commonwealth governments in the first instance, with the help of the Commonwealth Secretariat, in order to examine these issues further and to prepare for an early meeting of Commonwealth trade ministers. These official discussions could also pay special attention to problems of individual commodities of particular interest to Commonwealth countries, in order to see how far policies could be co-ordinated within the Commonwealth with a view to appropriate further action, whether on a Commonwealth or international scale.

They also agreed that, subsequently, the appropriate ministers or officials in Commonwealth countries should meet to consider the extent to which each country's production and plans, as foreseen, could meet requirements in other member countries.

Ministers decided to consider through the medium of the Commonwealth Air Transport Council means of promoting a closer understanding of the basic civil air transport requirements of member countries.

In addition, the Commonwealth Secretariat will examine the possibility of arranging for the results of research to be shared more widely among Commonwealth countries.

Commonwealth Foundation

At their previous meeting in 1964 the prime ministers considered that it might be desirable to establish a Commonwealth Foundation to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organizations in professional fields; officials were instructed to consider this proposal in greater detail. At their recent meeting, the prime ministers approved a report by officials and an agreed memorandum on the establishment and functions of the Foundation, which is attached to this communiqué.

Commonwealth Secretariat

At their 1964 meeting the prime ministers saw a Commonwealth Secretariat as being a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth and instructed officials to consider the best basis for establishing a Commonwealth Secretariat. At their latest meeting the prime ministers had before them a report by officials which they approved and an agreed memorandum on

the establishment and functions of the Secretariat is attached. As already announced, they have unanimously approved the appointment of Mr. Arnold Smith as the first Secretary-General.⁽¹⁾

Commonwealth Mission on Vietnam

Statement of Guidance

1. To enable the mission to approach its assignment meaningfully, there should be certain broad areas of agreement regarding the requirements for ending the conflict in Vietnam peacefully.
2. There is already general agreement on certain basic considerations:
 - (a) There is an inherent risk of the conflict in Vietnam escalating into a wider war.
 - (b) For this reason, there are grave doubts as to an early or final solution by military means.
 - (c) A comprehensive cease-fire and a conference of all the parties directly involved in the situation seem to provide the essential pre-condition to the solution of the problem.
3. Bearing in mind these considerations and also the purpose of the mission, it should be guided by the following ultimate objectives during its consultations with the parties principally concerned:
 - (a) a suspension of all United States air attacks on North Vietnam;
 - (b) a North Vietnamese undertaking to prevent the movement of any military forces or assistance or material to South Vietnam;
 - (c) a total cease-fire on all sides to enable a conference to be convened to seek a peaceful solution.
 - (d) The objectives of such a conference might be to:
 - (i) end the war in Vietnam;
 - (ii) secure the withdrawal of all foreign military presence from Vietnam and the neutralisation of the area;
 - (iii) establish, for a period, an international peace force, under the auspices of the Geneva Agreement, to safeguard peace in Vietnam;
 - (iv) establish principles for the eventual unification of the country through free and internationally supervised elections.

Statement by Mission

The following statement was issued by the mission on June 19, 1965:

The mission appointed by the Commonwealth prime ministers' meeting is to

⁽¹⁾See P. 331 of this issue.

explore the circumstances in which a conference might be held to end the fighting in Vietnam.

Meanwhile, in order to create the conditions in which the mission can carry through its work, the mission is appealing to all parties concerned to show the utmost restraint in military operations as a step towards the total cease-fire which the mission hopes will be established at the earliest possible opportunity. The mission would wish to meet all the parties concerned.

A second statement was issued on June 24, 1965:

Because of certain misunderstandings which have gained currency during the last few days, the heads of government of Britain, of Ghana, of Nigeria and of Trinidad and Tobago wish to clarify the basis on which they agreed to form a mission in connection with the problem of Vietnam.

The mission was appointed by the London meeting of the heads of government of the Commonwealth and on behalf of the Commonwealth as a whole.

The Commonwealth as such is in no way committed to either side of the conflict in Vietnam and has formed no collective view except on the urgency of re-establishing conditions in which the people of Vietnam may be able to live in peace. Although within the Commonwealth there is diversity of opinion on the Vietnam problem, there is complete unanimity as to the need to find a peaceful solution.

In the discharge of the task entrusted to it, the mission will be guided by the views of the Commonwealth as a whole and not by the views of any individual member of the Commonwealth.

It is in this context that the Commonwealth is satisfied that its mission must make direct contact with all the Vietnamese parties. It is reiterated that positive steps should be taken by all outside parties to exercise restraint in military operations while the mission is carrying out its task.

Statement by the Prime Minister

On June 29, 1965, Prime Minister Pearson made the following statement to the House of Commons in Ottawa concerning the final communiqué of the Commonwealth prime ministers' meeting:

. . . This is a long communiqué covering a variety of subjects, because there were a variety of subjects on the agenda. . . .

Perhaps at this moment I could say only this. . . . There were two subjects which dominated the discussions. One was the proposal made by the chairman of the conference, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, on the opening day of the conference, that the Commonwealth should choose certain of its members to initiate, if they could, by visits to the countries and the interests concerned, negotiations for a peace settlement in Vietnam. That caused a good deal of discussion.

Eventually, there was agreement with regard to the personnel of the mission and the terms of reference of the mission.

I do not know whether this mission will be able to accomplish what it has in mind. It was an initiative taken by the Commonwealth — I think a valuable one and a timely one, particularly in view of the fact that it is not possible, at this time at least, for the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take an initiative, or indeed any other international organization. Even if the mission itself is not able to accomplish what it hopes to accomplish, I do believe that the effort was well worth making.

The other major matter — major only in the sense that it caused a great deal of discussion and indeed some controversy — was that part of the communiqué which deals with Rhodesia. After long and very vigorous discussion, the paragraphs on Rhodesia included in the communiqué were agreed to by all the members of the Commonwealth except one, who made reservations in connection with this particular section.

The importance of the Rhodesian paragraphs is that the Commonwealth members themselves — all of them without exception — came to the conclusion that there could be no final solution of this very difficult problem except on the basis of majority rule. The difference was over the timing of the processes which would lead to that final settlement. The United Kingdom Government, which have the responsibility of leading the people of Rhodesia to independence and majority rule, have accepted these principles in theory, and they have agreed (and this represents, I think, a pretty courageous advance on the part of the United Kingdom Government), if direct negotiations break down, to consider a constitutional conference, which is what the African members of the Commonwealth have been advocating.

I can only say . . . that this was not only the largest of the Commonwealth conferences, there being 21 members, but we learned at this conference that at the next meeting, whenever it will be held, there will be four or five new Commonwealth members. It was a very difficult conference and, in view of the difficulties and importance of the subject matters which were discussed, we can take some satisfaction from the fact that this meeting was able to agree on a communiqué of this kind and, more important, was able to discuss such difficult and controversial matters in that spirit which characterizes Commonwealth meetings, even in respect of subjects on which it is not always easy, and indeed is sometimes impossible, to find unanimous agreement.

Commonwealth Secretariat and Commonwealth Foundation

Commonwealth Secretariat

One of the most significant decisions of the June 1965 meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers in London was to proceed with the establishment of a Commonwealth Secretariat. The prime ministers agreed on the functions and administrative arrangements for the establishment of a Commonwealth Secretariat and approved the appointment of a Canadian, Mr. Arnold Cantwell Smith, as the first Secretary-General of the Secretariat.

The decision to establish a Commonwealth Secretariat was taken at the July 1964 Commonwealth prime ministers' meeting. As envisaged in the communiqué issued at the close of the 1964 meeting, the Commonwealth prime ministers see the Secretariat as being "at the service of all Commonwealth governments and as a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth". Officials during the last year have been considering the best basis for establishing a Commonwealth Secretariat and, at this year's June meeting, the prime ministers had before them a report by officials which they approved. The accepted recommendations regarding the functions and administrative arrangements were incorporated in an Agreed Memorandum on the Commonwealth Secretariat, which was issued with the final communiqué of the meeting.

The Secretary-General and the staff of the Commonwealth Secretariat are to be servants of the Commonwealth as a whole and will derive their functions from the authority of the Commonwealth heads of government. In the discharge of his responsibilities in this connection, the Secretary-General will have access to heads of government. The Secretary-General will be assisted by two deputies — one for economic affairs and the other for political and general matters. Like the Secretary-General, the Deputy Secretaries-General will be appointed by Commonwealth heads of government. The Secretariat staff will be recruited on as wide a geographical basis as possible within the Commonwealth. The Secretariat will operate initially on a modest scale; its staff and functions will be left to expand pragmatically in the light of experience and as approved by member governments. The various functions which the Commonwealth Secretariat will exercise fall under the following broad headings: international affairs, economic affairs and general administrative functions. The Secretariat is expected to play an important and constructive role, especially by facilitating consultation within the Commonwealth on political and economic matters. The Secretariat will also service meetings of Commonwealth heads of government and other official meetings among Commonwealth governments and assist other intra-Commonwealth institutions.

The Commonwealth Secretariat will not have any executive function. Indeed



Mr. Arnold Cantwell Smith

the Secretariat is to be as much as possible in keeping with the informal character of the Commonwealth. The Agreed Memorandum on the Commonwealth Secretariat carefully points out that:

The Secretary-General and his staff should approach their task bearing in mind that the Commonwealth is an association which enables countries in different regions of the world, consisting of a variety of races and representing a number of interests and points of view, to exchange opinions in a friendly, informal and intimate atmosphere. The organization and functions of the Commonwealth Secretariat should be so designed as to assist in supporting and building on these fundamental elements in the Commonwealth association. At the same time, the Commonwealth is not a formal organization. It does not encroach on the sovereignty of individual members. Nor does it require its members to seek to reach collective decisions or to take united action. Experience has proved that there are advantages in such

informality. It enables its members to adapt their procedures to meet changing circumstances; conversely, there would be disadvantages in establishing too formal procedures and institutions in the association.

In describing the proposed role of the Commonwealth Secretariat in international affairs, the Agreed Memorandum states:

Consultation is the life blood of the Commonwealth association. At their meeting in July 1964, the Commonwealth prime ministers expressed the view that on matters of major international importance a fuller exchange of views could very appropriately be promoted on an increasingly multilateral basis through the agency of the Secretariat. They were particularly anxious to ensure that there should be opportunity for fuller participation by all member countries in the normal process of Commonwealth consultation. At the same time, they showed themselves conscious of the importance of maintaining the unwritten conventions which have always determined those processes. The Secretary-General will observe the same conventions and act in the same spirit.

To facilitate and promote consultation, it is proposed that the Secretary-General should prepare and circulate papers on international questions of common concern to Commonwealth governments, where he considers this useful. The Secretary-General is expected to proceed with circumspection in the exercise of this function. The Secretariat is not to propagate any particular sectional or partisan points of view, to make policy judgments or recommendations, or to touch on the internal affairs of a member country or serious differences between two or more member countries. The Agreed Memorandum observes that, provided the Secretariat "begins modestly and remains careful not to trespass on the independence and sovereignty of member governments whose servant it will be, it will be possible for it to grow in the spirit of the Commonwealth association itself". It is hoped that the Secretariat will in time accumulate a body of knowledge and experience which will contribute to the understanding among Commonwealth governments on major international issues.

The Commonwealth Secretariat will also play an important role in the economic field. The Secretary-General will "initiate, collate and distribute" to Commonwealth governments material on economic affairs and also on social and cultural issues. There are already several intra-Commonwealth bodies at work in these fields, and the Secretary-General is authorized to follow up the specialized reports of these bodies by promoting special studies, as, for example, on the interrelation of agricultural and industrial development in the new Commonwealth countries. It is expected that the Secretariat will play a valuable role in assisting member governments, at their request, in advancing and obtaining support for development projects and technical assistance on a multilateral Commonwealth basis. It will also help expedite the processing of requests for assistance made by one Commonwealth country to another. In this regard the Secretariat will keep Commonwealth governments informed of the aid programmes of member countries. It is hoped that, by accumulating a body of knowledge on the aid potential of the Commonwealth to which member governments can have easy recourse for promoting their own development, the Commonwealth will be enabled "generally to co-operate to the maximum extent possible in promoting the economic development of all".

The prime ministers concluded at their June meeting that a comprehensive review of existing intra-Commonwealth organizations concerned with economic and related affairs should be carried out in view of the changing nature of the Commonwealth and of the fact that the multiplicity of organizations working in these fields has created problems of staff and finance. Among the main purposes of this review, to be carried out by a special committee appointed by Commonwealth governments, will be to examine what Commonwealth bodies might be usefully absorbed within the Secretariat, which have functions so specialized that they cannot be usefully absorbed, and how close co-operation between these and the Secretariat should be.

Another important function of the Secretariat will be the servicing of future meetings of Commonwealth heads of government and other ministerial and official meetings of the Commonwealth. The Secretariat in such instances will be "the visible servant of the Commonwealth association". At meetings of prime ministers, the Secretary-General will henceforth serve as the secretary-general to each meeting. He and his staff will prepare, collate and circulate papers on agenda items, together with appropriate background papers, produce the minutes and, with the assistance of the host government, take responsibility for the general organization of the meeting. The Secretary-General will also be responsible for co-ordinating the preparation of the agenda of the prime ministers' meetings, in the light of such direct discussions as the Commonwealth heads of government may have.

Canadian Becomes First Secretary-General

Mr. Arnold Cantwell Smith, the first Secretary-General of the new Commonwealth Secretariat, was Canadian Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1961-63 and has most recently been an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. Born in Toronto in 1915, Mr. Smith was educated at Upper Canada College, Toronto, and the Lycée Champoléon, Grenoble, France. After graduating from the University of Toronto in 1935, he attended Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar and was a law student at Gray's Inn, London. Early in 1939, he went to Estonia as editor of the *Baltic Times*. He was also Assistant Professor of Political Economy at the University of Tartu and representative of the British Council. At the outbreak of the Second World War, he was appointed press attaché at the British Legation, Tallin. A year later, he was moved to Cairo, where he served for a short time in the British Embassy and lectured in economics at Faud University. In 1941-42, he served as a head of division in the Office of the British Minister of State for the Middle East.

In December 1942, Mr. Smith joined the Canadian Department of External Affairs and in 1943 was posted to Moscow, where he served through the remaining war years. Following the war, Mr. Smith was a member of the directing staff of

the National Defence College, Kingston, and two years later served as Principal Adviser to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York, and Alternate Representative of Canada on the United Nations Security Council. From 1950 to 1953, he was Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, before returning to Ottawa as a Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. In 1955 he was appointed Canadian Commissioner to the International Supervisory Commission for Cambodia, and in 1956 went to Canada House, London. In 1958 he became Minister in the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London, and later in the year was appointed Ambassador to the United Arab Republic. A two-year term in Cairo was followed in 1961 by his appointment as Canadian Ambassador to the Soviet Union. In 1963 he became an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs in the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, a post he now relinquishes. Mr. Smith is married and has three children. He expects to take up his new duties as Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat shortly. His term of appointment will be for five years.

Commonwealth Foundation

At their 1964 meeting, the Commonwealth prime ministers agreed that it would be desirable to establish a Commonwealth Foundation to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organizations in professional fields, and officials were instructed to consider this proposal. At their June 1965 meeting, the prime ministers accepted an Agreed Memorandum on the establishment and formation of the Foundation which was attached to the final communiqué of the meeting. The Agreed Memorandum stated, in part:

"A Commonwealth Foundation will be established to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organizations in professional fields throughout the Commonwealth. It will be the purpose of the Foundation to provide assistance where it is needed in order to foster such interchanges.

"The Foundation will be an autonomous body, although it will develop and maintain a close liaison with the Commonwealth Secretariat. Like the Secretariat, the Foundation will be accommodated at Marlborough House.

"Within the broad purpose indicated above, the Foundation will include among its aims the following objects:

- (a) To encourage and support fuller representation at conferences of professional bodies within the Commonwealth.
- (b) To assist professional bodies within the Commonwealth to hold more conferences between themselves.
- (c) To facilitate the exchange of visits among professional people, especially the younger element.
- (d) To stimulate and increase the flow of professional information exchanged between the organizations concerned.

- (e) On request to assist with the setting up of national institutions or associations in countries where these do not at present exist.
- (f) To promote the growth of Commonwealth-wide associations or regional Commonwealth associations in order to reduce the present centralization in Britain.
- (g) To consider exceptional requests for help from associations and individuals whose activities lie outside the strictly professional field but fall within the general ambit of the Foundation's operations as outlined above.

"The Foundation could usefully develop informal contacts with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. To avoid the risk of duplication with the activities of existing organizations concerned with cultural activities and the press, the Foundation should not initially seek to assume any functions in these fields.

"The policy of the Foundation will be directed by a chairman, who will be a distinguished private citizen of a Commonwealth country appointed with the approval of all member governments, and a Board of Trustees who should be expected to meet at least once a year. The Board of Trustees will consist of independent persons, each subscribing government having the right to nominate one member of the Board. These nominees, even if officials, will be appointed in a personal capacity. The Commonwealth Secretariat will be represented on the Board of Trustees by the Secretary-General or an officer appointed by him.

"There will be a full-time, salaried Director who will be appointed, initially for a period of not more than two years, by Commonwealth heads of government collectively acting through their representatives in London. He will be responsible to the Board of Trustees.

"The Director will require a small personal staff; general office services will be provided by the Commonwealth Secretariat.

"It is hoped that Commonwealth Governments will subscribe to the cost of the Foundation on an agreed scale. Payment of the first annual subscriptions will be made as soon as the Director has indicated that a bank account for the Foundation has been opened. It is hoped that, in addition, private sources may be willing to contribute to the funds of the Foundation."

Disarmament Discussions

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE LAST TWELVEMONTH

BEFORE THE Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee adjourned its meetings in Geneva on September 17, 1964, the Committee approved a progress report for the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly and to the United Nations Disarmament Commission, covering negotiations conducted during the period January 21 to September 17, 1964.

Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee Report

✓ The September report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) contains the amended U.S.S.R. draft treaty incorporating the Soviet "umbrella" proposal for the retention of an agreed number of missiles and warheads by the United States and the Soviet Union until the end of the third stage of a disarmament programme. Also included is the Soviet nine-point memorandum of January 1964 on "measures for slowing down the armaments race and relaxing international tension".

The report contains President Johnson's letter to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. referring to the need for "accompanying efforts for disarmament with new efforts to remove the causes of friction and improve world machinery for peacefully settling disputes". In the settlement of territorial disputes, the U.S. President proposed that all governments or régimes abstain from the direct or indirect threat to use force whether in the form of aggression, subversion or clandestine supply of arms. In this letter, the President identified six objectives for continuing disarmament negotiations, the first being "to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons". Also included was the proposal to prohibit all nuclear-weapon tests.

President Johnson's message to the ENDC, which is also contained in the report, proposes five major types of potential agreement:

- (1) To prohibit the use of force (*see above*);
- (2) to freeze the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive vehicles;
- (3) to cease the production of fissionable material for weapons uses;
- (4) to examine the creation of a system of observation posts to reduce the danger of war by accident, miscalculation or surprise attack;
- (5) to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

A United States working paper on the inspection of fissionable material and cut-off, and a British paper on observation posts attached to the report, provide specific proposals for the third and fourth points mentioned above.

A joint memorandum submitted by the eight non-aligned members of the ENDC urged the nuclear powers to take all immediate steps towards an agreement to ban and discontinue all nuclear-weapon tests. In their view, such steps would be facilitated by the exchange of scientific and other information between the nuclear powers or by the improvement of detection and identification techniques. The report also contains an important memorandum by the non-aligned members — Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden and the U.A.R. — giving a brief resumé of the suggestions made by each of their delegations on measures of disarmament and collateral measures discussed by the Committee during 1964.

UN General Assembly — Nineteenth Session

The postponement of the meeting of the nineteenth session of the UNGA until December 1, 1964, coupled with its subsequent early adjournment on January 26, 1965, without substantive discussions, in order to avoid direct confrontation over Article 19 of the United Nations Charter, precluded debate on the ENDC report.

In spite of the fact that the report of the ENDC was not formally discussed, considerable attention was nevertheless devoted to the question of disarmament in the statements of the majority of delegates in the General Assembly. Representatives also placed significant emphasis on the current problem of the continued operations of the United Nations, and its peace-keeping function in particular. There was widespread expression of regret at the lack of progress made in disarmament negotiations conducted at Geneva. Delegates nevertheless reaffirmed their support for general and complete disarmament, but focussed their attention on numerous partial or "collateral" measures as the most promising avenue to be explored in continuing negotiations. It was most interesting to note, moreover, that proposals and measures were by no means confined to representatives of the members of the ENDC and that non-aligned countries took an active part in discussions of the disarmament negotiations.

On December 7, 1964, the Soviet Foreign Minister submitted an 11-point memorandum on "measures for the further reduction of international tension and limitation of the arms race". This was, in fact, the original Soviet nine-point memorandum of January 1964 to which the following two measures had been added:

- (a) dismantling all foreign military bases;
- (b) prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

Mr. Gromyko also expressed his country's support for a world disarmament conference as proposed by the Cairo conference of non-aligned countries and for the proposal by the People's Republic of China for a conference of heads of state on the complete banning and destruction of nuclear weapons. He also attacked alleged inconsistency of Western countries, which, while opposing the transfer of nuclear weapons, maintained that access to them on a NATO basis did not amount to proliferation.

The United States delegate, the late Mr. Adlai Stevenson, referred to the agree-

ments already reached to halt the arms race and to reduce the risk of war, namely: (a) the direct communication link between Washington and Moscow; (b) the ban on nuclear-weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water; and (c) the agreement to refrain from orbiting or stationing weapons of mass destruction in outer space. He declared his Government's intent "to continue the search for meaningful and verifiable steps to limit, and hopefully, to halt the multiplication of nuclear arms". Mr. Stevenson described the latter as the most urgent objective in the common interest of all mankind, which, if not soon achieved, would bring to nought progress thus far attained.

Countries representing all the regions of the globe spoke strongly on the question of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. Amongst the countries devoting special attention to non-dissemination were Ceylon, Ethiopia, Greece, Italy, Japan, Libya, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Tanzania, Thailand and Yugoslavia. Denmark, India, Ireland, Mexico and Sweden submitted more specific proposals related to the solution of the non-dissemination problem. The Foreign Minister of Ireland also launched an appeal to the five nuclear powers "to negotiate without delay a non-dissemination agreement complemented by an agreement in which they solemnly undertake to protect non-nuclear states from attack by a nuclear power".

United Nations Disarmament Commission

Following a proposal made by the Soviet Union last March, the United Nations Disarmament Commission met in New York from April 21 to June 16 under the chairmanship of Ambassador El-Kony of the United Arab Republic. The Commission, which is composed of all members of the United Nations, had not held a session since 1960. Its meeting this year provided an opportunity for the consideration within the United Nations of the report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, which went into recess last September. Had the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly been able to function normally, the ENDC's report would have been discussed in the course of the regular work of that session. Disarmament, however, was among the many items of business on the Assembly's agenda, which, owing to the difficulties surrounding the application of Article 19 of the Charter, the United Nations was unable to consider last autumn. Although Canada, with many other countries, deeply regretted the delay in resuming disarmament negotiations in Geneva in the ENDC, it was recognized that a session of the Disarmament Commission would allow a full debate at this time within the United Nations with respect to disarmament problems, and could be of value as a means whereby members of the United Nations could express their views about the course to be followed in further disarmament negotiations.

General Debate

In this respect the first month of the Commission's work, during which more than 50 countries made statements of their positions on disarmament, did prove most useful. Although many delegations expressed disappointment that the negotiations in Geneva during 1964 had not led to specific agreements, the debate reflected widespread recognition of the continuing value and importance of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee as the appropriate forum for constructive and detailed negotiations both on general and complete disarmament and on initial measures designed to reduce international tension and facilitate progress toward the goal of general disarmament. As could be expected, the Soviet Union and its allies vehemently criticized Western policies, particularly those of the United States toward Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Nevertheless, as the discussion developed, it was apparent that the majority of members of the Commission believed that during a period of heightened international tension it was vital to continue the search for practicable solutions to those problems in the disarmament field which were most urgent and where agreement appeared to be most feasible.

The debate showed that most countries believed that two problems should be given very high priority in further disarmament negotiations: first, a comprehensive test-ban agreement which would extend the Partial Test Ban Treaty to include the cessation of underground nuclear-weapon tests and, second, an agreement which would effectively halt the spread of nuclear weapons to countries which did not already possess them. The sense of the urgency of finding an early solution to these two problems was strengthened by the announcement during the course of the Commission's work that the People's Republic of China had followed its first nuclear test of last October with a second explosion on May 14.

An interesting aspect of the debate on the non-proliferation issue was the emphasis many important non-nuclear powers placed on the relation between stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and other measures of disarmament, as well as on ways to guarantee the security of nations which should forgo the development of a national nuclear weapons capability. In this connection, the Canadian representative on the Commission, Lieutenant-General E. L. M. Burns, cited a recent speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada in which Mr. Martin had said:

In the next ten years there may be as many as a score of states which could, if they were to make the necessary political decision to do it, acquire an independent military nuclear capability by manufacturing their own nuclear weapons. It seems axiomatic to me that, if these nations are to be expected to continue their voluntary abstention, if they are to be expected to go even further and make a formal international commitment to refrain from producing them in future, then the military nuclear powers must accept responsibilities of their own. They must not only demonstrate increasing restraint in the nuclear field. They must also make renewed efforts to achieve early progress in the direction of general disarmament, including the reduction and, eventually, the elimination of all national stockpiles of nuclear weapons. It may be necessary to guarantee the security of non-nuclear states, at least against nuclear attack . . . if they are to be expected to forgo the option of becoming nuclear powers at some future date. Collective security arrangements have in large measure already provided a guarantee of this nature for the allies of the great nuclear powers. The

non-aligned and neutral nations do not enjoy similar guarantees. . . . It should, surely, not be beyond the collective genius of the nuclear powers to provide these non-nuclear states, which are either non-aligned or neutral and which evidently regard the option of being able to become a nuclear power at some future time as a factor contributing to their national security, with a credible guarantee against nuclear attack. This would not, of course, alter in any way their non-aligned or neutral status.

In the Commission, the position of the Soviet Union with respect to an agreement to prevent the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons remained the same: the Soviet Union continued to charge that projected changes in the nuclear arrangements of the Western Alliance would constitute the dissemination of nuclear weapons, and demanded that plans for an MLF or ANF would have to be abandoned before an agreement, as envisaged in the so-called Irish resolution adopted at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, could be concluded. The Western powers, on the other hand, maintain that there is no inconsistency between such arrangements and a firm undertaking on the part of the nuclear powers not to transfer nuclear weapons to the independent national control of states not now possessing them. In the Commission, therefore, the Western powers continued to urge the Soviet Union to enter into detailed negotiations in the ENDC on the terms of an effective non-dissemination agreement.

World Disarmament Conference

While the majority of nations were strongly in favour of continued efforts to make progress through negotiations in Geneva, there was considerable support for the idea that the Commission should take a position with respect to a proposal made at the second conference of non-aligned countries held in Cairo last October that a world disarmament conference be convened in which all countries would participate. At the beginning of June, the delegation of Yugoslavia introduced a resolution on this subject co-sponsored by many non-aligned countries. The Canadian representative outlined the attitude of the Canadian Government to this proposal as follows:

I wish to make it quite clear that the Canadian Government accepts in principle the idea of a world disarmament conference. As we have said before, we hold that careful preparatory work — and that concerns both participation in the conference and substance — would be necessary to ensure that the conference could make a significant contribution to progress in the disarmament field. We hold also that it would be most important for the success of a world conference that there be continued general recognition of the applicability of the agreed principles for disarmament negotiations contained in Resolution 1722 (XVI). Finally, we hold that the continuation of detailed disarmament negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee would not be incompatible with the proposal for a world disarmament conference to be held in the next year or two. Indeed, the establishment of some defined relationship between the two bodies would seem to be a justifiable expectation.

The sponsors of the resolution on the world disarmament conference subsequently revised their draft considerably in order to make it acceptable to those countries which had reservations concerning its original formulation. The resolution as it was put to the vote expressed in its preambular section the conviction that a world disarmament conference would support efforts which were being made to set in motion the process of disarmament; in its operative part it wel-

comed the proposal to convene such a conference, to which all countries would be invited, and recommended that the General Assembly give urgent consideration to the proposal at its twentieth session. The sponsors' willingness to alter their resolution to make it broadly acceptable, as well as their explanatory statements, which indicated that their approach was consonant with the Canadian attitude, permitted the Canadian delegation to support the resolution, which was adopted on June 11 with 89 votes in favour and none opposed, with 16 abstentions.

Soviet Draft Resolutions

On May 27, the Soviet delegation tabled two draft resolutions. The first dealt with the long-familiar Soviet proposal for the elimination of what the Soviet Union terms "foreign" bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of other states. The Soviet draft alleged that the presence of foreign troops on the territories of other states impeded the normalization of international relations, and claimed that the existence of bases aggravated the international situation and created "a direct threat to the peace and security of the peoples". The draft called on all states maintaining military bases in other countries to liquidate them forthwith and to withdraw all their troops within their national frontiers. It further requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to observe the implementation of these steps and to report on the results to the next session of the General Assembly. In soliciting support for this resolution, the Soviet delegate argued at length that the situation in Vietnam made it particularly urgent and timely for the Commission to call for the liquidation of foreign bases. He also attempted to make the proposal more appealing to non-aligned opinion by relating it to colonial issues. In response, the Western powers drew attention to the cardinal principle that all measures of disarmament should be balanced, so that, in the course of their implementation, no military advantage would be gained by any party. They pointed out that the result of the adoption of Soviet proposals for the elimination of bases would be to upset seriously the military relation existing between the major military groupings. In Europe particularly, the withdrawal of allied forces would leave the Soviet Union in a position of overwhelming military superiority *vis-à-vis* the West. As the discussion of the Soviet text went on, an increasing number of non-aligned countries also expressed concern about its implications, emphasizing that it appeared incompatible with Article 51 of the Charter, which recognized the inherent right of states to undertake measures for their individual and collective self-defence.

The second Soviet draft resolution introduced another familiar Soviet proposal, dealing as it did with the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. It called on all states to convene a special world conference not later than 1966 for the conclusion of a convention prohibiting the use of these weapons; it also invited states possessing nuclear weapons to declare, pending the conclusion of such a convention, that they would not use them first. The Western position with respect to proposals to "ban the bomb" has been that declarations of intention cannot be a

satisfactory substitute for concrete action to limit and reverse the arms race. The Western powers pointed out that while nuclear weapons existed they would almost certainly be used if war should break out between the nuclear powers. In these circumstances, and given the fact that an essential component in the present relationship between the major powers is the deterrent effect exercised by the nuclear weapons possessed by both sides, it is the Western view that the most realistic and only effective way to reduce the danger of nuclear war is to negotiate disarmament measures leading towards the eventual elimination of these weapons.

U.S. Draft Resolution

The tabling of the two Soviet drafts described above made it necessary for the United States delegation to put before the Commission a resolution which clearly stated the approach the United States and its partners in the ENDC, including Canada, had taken in recent disarmament negotiations. The United States draft resolution urged the ENDC to reconvene as soon as possible and to resume negotiations *inter alia* on (a) a comprehensive treaty to ban all nuclear tests; (b) a non-proliferation agreement as called for in General Assembly Resolution 1665 adopted at the sixteenth session (the Irish resolution); (c) an agreement to halt the production of fissionable materials for weapons use and to transfer to non-weapons use agreed quantities of such material; and (d) a freeze on the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles (bombers and rockets), which would open the path to early reductions in such vehicles.

Non-Aligned Resolution

On June 3, the representative of Sweden introduced a resolution sponsored by over 20 non-aligned countries. This was designed as a compromise draft. While not endorsing the viewpoint of either of the major military groupings, the resolution attempted to express the consensus, as it had emerged in the Commission's debate respecting the future course of disarmament negotiations, by singling out those issues that most countries believed were of particular urgency. The non-aligned nations represented on the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee played an important role in the drafting of this resolution, and five of these eight countries were among its sponsors. The non-aligned text was a carefully balanced document that underlined the urgency of making early progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament and of reaching agreement on measures which would facilitate the attainment of that goal. It deplored that, notwithstanding recent resolutions of the General Assembly, nuclear-weapon tests were continuing. It reaffirmed the call of the General Assembly on all states to become parties to the Partial Test Ban Treaty and to abide by its spirit and provisions. It recommended that the ENDC should reconvene as early as possible and accord special priority in its negotiations to (a) a comprehensive test-ban treaty and (b) a convention to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons "giving close attention to the various suggestions that agreement could be facilitated by adopting a

programme of certain related measures". The resolution also asked the ENDC to keep in mind the principle of converting to programmes of economic and social development "a substantial part of the resources gradually released by the reduction of military expenditures". Finally, the draft requested the ENDC to report to the Disarmament Commission and to the General Assembly during its twentieth session on the progress made in respect of these recommendations.

Canada, with the vast majority of delegations, welcomed the tabling of this resolution. It was recognized that deep-seated disagreements over various aspects of the disarmament problem made it impossible for a single resolution to satisfy all parties fully. Nevertheless, most delegations, including those of Western countries, acknowledged that the sponsors of this draft had succeeded in setting out the basis on which fruitful disarmament negotiations could at present be conducted.

Although the non-aligned draft had been tabled after both the Soviet and U.S. draft resolutions, the Commission decided to give it priority in the voting. On June 15 it was adopted by 83 votes in favour (including Canada), to one opposed (Albania), with 18 countries abstaining. The Soviet Union and its allies on the Commission were among the few states which did not support the non-aligned draft. The Soviet representative, while complimenting the sponsors for their efforts to devise a satisfactory compromise, criticized the resolution severely on a number of grounds. Among these was the way in which it dealt with the non-proliferation issue; the Soviet representative continued to insist that the Commission, in any resolution dealing with this subject, had to make clear that it condemned projected changes in the nuclear arrangements of the Western Alliance. The Soviet delegate was also obviously reluctant to support a resolution which deplored the atmospheric tests carried out by the People's Republic of China, despite the fact that these were not mentioned explicitly.

The passage of the non-aligned resolution represented, in the view of most delegations, an appropriate and useful conclusion to the Commission's work. In the light of this sentiment, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States insisted that the Commission proceed to a vote on their respective draft resolutions, the subject matter of which was of a more controversial character. Both delegations, therefore, withdrew the texts they had tabled.

Conclusion

The proceedings demonstrated the responsible interest in and increased understanding of the highly complex nature of disarmament on the part of the non-aligned members of the United Nations. This was one of the most positive and encouraging features of this session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. The great majority of members were clearly not inclined to allow the session to be exploited for propaganda purposes. On the contrary, the debate reflected a prevailing desire to search out ways to stimulate constructive work in the negotiating forum in Geneva. A number of suggestions were made which should prove of

value when the ENDC reconvenes. As noted earlier, the non-aligned resolution provides a satisfactory framework for renewed negotiations in that body. The other resolution adopted by the Committee, concerning the calling of a world disarmament conference, opens the way to a useful discussion of this proposal at the next session of the General Assembly.

It is a matter for concern that the Soviet Union and its allies did not support the non-aligned resolution, which included a call for the resumption of negotiations in the ENDC. It is to be hoped, however, that the overwhelming support which the non-aligned resolution received in the Commission will be instrumental in bringing about renewed and constructive efforts in the ENDC at an early date.

Non-Proliferation

In his address to the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly in December 1964, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, called attention to the urgency of efforts to reach agreement on what had been clearly demonstrated to be the central issue in the disarmament field — namely, the limitation of the spread of independent military nuclear capacity. Pointing out that it was no longer sufficient to depend on the restraining of the nuclear powers themselves (the approach embodied in the nuclear test-ban treaty) he declared:

What is now required is the elaboration of an international agreement or agreements by which the nuclear states would undertake not to relinquish control of nuclear weapons nor to transmit the information necessary for their manufacture to states not possessing such weapons, while the non-nuclear states, for their part, would pledge themselves not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of nuclear weapons. In the Canadian view, an agreement on these lines would have a significant contribution to make to the enlargement of world peace and security.

In a statement before the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs on June 17, the Secretary of State for External Affairs expanded on the type of agreement which was considered necessary to meet the present situation. Mr. Martin said in part:

"I mentioned in the House the other day, in answer to a question, that Canada had drafted a non-dissemination agreement. This was in reply to a question on whether or not we had been consulted by the British Government with regard to an announcement that that Government had circulated for private discussions among a number of states a draft treaty on dissemination. I said that was the case and that we ourselves had drafted a treaty, which we have been discussing with a number of countries. Of course, it is impossible at this stage to make public this treaty because it is in a stage of exploratory consultation with certain powers. . . . Because of the vital interest of India in this problem, we are happy to have it as one of the countries with which we wish to have this preliminary stage of discussion and exploratory examination. This non-dissemination agreement currently is being discussed informally through diplomatic channels, first of all with our

other three partners in what is called the Western Four — Britain, the United States, and Italy — and then with an increasing number of other interested countries.

Draft Non-Dissemination Treaty

“The Canadian Government has held the view for some time that progress in solving the problem of disarmament or in solving the problem of how to halt the spread of nuclear weapons would be facilitated if those directly involved in the disarmament negotiations were to advance an example of the sort of non-dissemination treaty they would be ready to negotiate. I must say that the formulation of initiatives on the Western side has been impeded somewhat by the Soviet contention about the incompatibility of a non-dissemination agreement and possible further modifications in the nuclear arrangements of the Atlantic Alliance. Of course, it was not that anyone in the West considered the Soviet allegations had any foundation in fact; rather, there seemed little to be gained if all that happened whenever Western countries mentioned non-dissemination was that we were confronted with a repetition from the Soviet Union of charges about the Federal Republic of Germany seeking to gain access to nuclear weapons. However, meanwhile, the non-nuclear powers, for their part, have begun to make known their increasing reluctance on the grounds of national security and equity to contemplate unconditionally renouncing the possibility of some day having an independent military nuclear capability.

“I think that one of the most important questions facing the international community at the present time is the danger to the peace of the world that would result from an increase in the membership of what is called the ‘nuclear club’. It is only fair to say that this concern has been shared by at least three of the nuclear powers, and certainly by the two main nuclear powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. I would not overlook the recent demonstrations of the fruit of the Communist Chinese military nuclear programmes as a factor influencing the thought of a number of nations in this regard. One must consider the position of certain countries of Asia, for instance, which are confronted with the fact that China, the Chinese People’s Republic, has detonated two nuclear bombs. The psychological effect of this, of course, must be very great in Asia, where the first two nuclear bombs were dropped at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

“The Canadian Government welcomed the statement made by the Prime Minister of India on at least three occasions in Ottawa when he was here during his notable visit, reaffirming that the policy of the Government of India was not to make any nuclear weapons, that it was engaged in nuclear activity for peaceful purposes only. This is, of course, also the basic position of the Canadian Government.

Non-nuclear Position

“As late as last November, it had been my hope that the non-nuclear states might have been prepared to regard the situation which now confronts them and us a

little differently. It has become clear that the present nuclear powers have no intention of allowing their nuclear weapons programmes to contribute to the creation of further independent nuclear capabilities, of additional *loci* of military nuclear power, which at best would serve only to complicate the strategic picture and at worst would render the deterrent equilibrium unstable. Since the Cuba crisis brought home to all the world the extreme danger involved in any attempt by a great power to alter the strategic balance in a radical manner, I think a distinctly new phase in relations between the West and the Soviet Union began. . . .

"These measures of restraint were undertaken in so far as their practical application was concerned by the states with a military nuclear capability rather than by the generality of states. This is something which I think we have to underline. The initiative for the Partial Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty was taken by the nuclear powers. It was adhered to by over 100 states, including our own, which have thus agreed not to engage in nuclear tests in three environments. These circumstances suggest to us that the non-nuclear states, for their part, might now be prepared to make some concerted movement in the direction of the generally desired aim of limiting the spread of independent nuclear capabilities, to give proof of their awareness of their responsibilities.

"I had in mind that the countries with a nuclear capacity but not engaged in the weapons programme — and this would include Canada — might give a meaning to and strengthen the formula provided for in the Irish resolution of 1961 by pledging themselves not to initiate such a programme. You will remember that the Irish resolution was passed in 1961. It was introduced by the Government of Ireland on the 20th of December 1960 and supported by Canada. The operative part of the resolution calls upon all states, and particularly upon the states presently possessing nuclear weapons, to use their best endeavours to secure the conclusion of an international agreement containing provisions under which the nuclear states would undertake to refrain from relinquishing nuclear weapons, and from transmitting the information necessary for their manufacture, to states not possessing such weapons. The proposed agreement would also contain provisions under which states not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons.

"We had in mind that the nations within this category — that is, the nations with nuclear capacity but not engaged in a weapons programme — could agree among themselves not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of nuclear weapons. In turn, such action might have encouraged the military nuclear powers to overcome their hesitation in committing to paper, in a full non-dissemination treaty, that tacit understanding which has governed their relations for the last while that they will not hand over the undivided control of nuclear weapons to states which do not possess them already.

"The situation, as I see it now, has changed somewhat, at least in so far as some countries and some regions of the world are concerned. The reluctance of non-nuclear states does add a complicating factor to the formulation of an effective

tive non-dissemination proposal but not, I think, one that is inhibitive. It does serve to remind us all that it really is the non-nuclear countries which are giving something up for the future if they enter into a non-dissemination agreement and that, accordingly, they will, and indeed must, have an important role in the negotiation of a treaty to that end. It is their adherence which, from a practical point of view, would be the most significant aspect of a non-dissemination treaty. In short, the substance of the matter is such that it is not the nuclear powers alone who will need to play a major part in the formulation of a treaty or in the choice of various measures which a treaty might contain.

"It is only realistic to expect, if we are going to ask such non-nuclear states as India and other countries in other regions of the world to forgo the making of nuclear weapons and to confine their nuclear capacity to peaceful purposes, that we should take into account their security problems when they are confronted in their regions with countries which have a nuclear-weapons capacity.

"The draft of a non-dissemination treaty, which we are now discussing through diplomatic channels with a limited number of countries, of course, has been drawn up as a stimulant to friendly discussion. We are now receiving reactions and there is general interest. In addition to meeting what we might regard as the requirements of those nations with whom we have allied interests, our draft has been conceived as going some way toward meeting the needs of the non-aligned and neutral nations within whose ranks the spread of nuclear weapons is the more likely to take place in the next decade.

"Now, our draft treaty is a very preliminary one. There are great problems involved in trying to work out some of the processes that are required if this kind of a treaty is to receive the acceptance of countries both non-nuclear and nuclear. Our draft is also being discussed with the disarmament experts of those governments which have allied interests with us. However, I would like to say that there are essentially six elements in the approach that we are suggesting.

Basic Elements

"(1) A non-dissemination agreement proper based on the Irish resolution, to which I referred earlier, which constitutes the only norm of non-dissemination that has up to now been generally accepted. The agreement on non-dissemination must be based on that resolution.

"(2) The extension of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards to the entirety of the non-military atomic programmes of all signatories, nuclear and non-nuclear alike, the International Atomic Energy Agency Statute being the only multilaterally-agreed instrument which provides a means of verifying that nuclear materials and equipment are not being diverted to military purposes.

"(3) A collective security guarantee in accordance with which the nuclear powers would come to the assistance of unaligned and neutral non-nuclear states in the event that they are subject to nuclear attack.

"(4) A complaint instrument or mechanism which, together with safeguards

as provided for, as I have already indicated, in (2), would provide a means of verifying compliance with the commitments made under a non-dissemination agreement based on the Irish resolution, especially with regard to the ban on relinquishing control of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear states.

“(5) Provisions for implementation or continuation of the treaty only in the event of a sufficient degree of universality of adherence.

“Finally, sanctions would be required to dissuade states from ceasing to comply with their undertakings. A limited duration for the treaty would be called for, the purpose being notably to encourage the nuclear states to make tangible progress towards nuclear disarmament within that period lest the non-nuclear states change their minds.

“The Committee will understand that these are general principles; they are capable of revision. They are put forward with supporting material in the draft treaty, which it is not possible at this stage to discuss publicly. These are some of the features that we have been thinking about. I am sure our draft is not fully acceptable to some countries, just as we are satisfied from what we have seen thus far that some of the points embodied in the draft proposals of other countries do not, in our judgment, meet the objectives that all of us have in mind.

“We are, in effect, advocating a co-ordination of measures. We do not regard our system as constituting an inseparable whole, nor do we consider that the various measures concerned must necessarily at first come into effect in their optimum or finally developed form.

“Now, I would like to repeat that there are considerable difficulties which will have to be overcome in the development and realization of the various elements which I have listed. Obviously the process of consultation that is under way will be valuable as indicating to us which of those measures might be successfully developed.”

With the anticipated early resumption of disarmament negotiations in Geneva in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, consideration of a non-dissemination treaty as recommended in the United Nations Disarmament Commission resolution⁽¹⁾ will share a prominent place in the agenda with the consideration of the extension of the scope of the Partial Test-Ban Treaty to cover underground tests.

⁽¹⁾See non-aligned resolution, P. 340 above.

United Nations Economic and Social Council

GENEVA SESSION, JULY 1965

The thirty-ninth session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council opened in Geneva on June 30, 1965. The first Canadian delegation to participate since 1958 in the five-week semi-annual sessions is led by Mr. Saul Rae, the Permanent Representative of Canada and Canadian Ambassador to the European Office of the United Nations. The alternate delegates are Mr. Marvin Gelber, Member of Parliament, and Mr. Jean Coté, Counsellor at the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in London.

The Economic and Social Council is responsible for directing the activities of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies in the economic, social and human rights fields. At the present session, the Council's major meeting this year, it is examining reports from the Specialized Agencies, from its own Functional Commissions and from the major aid programmes of the United Nations, including the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The main new items before the Council include the work of the Trade and Development Board of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and a report on the newly established United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR). Also before the Council will be reports on the first half of the United Nations Development Decade, world economic trends and the financing of economic development.

Statement by Secretary-General

In his opening Statement, U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, commented that the Economic and Social Council was assembled for the seventeenth time "to review the world economic situation in the light, or at least with the help, of the Secretariat's World Economic Survey". He continued with the following observation:

Ten years ago, the practice began of devoting Part I of the World Economic Survey to the study of trends in relation to a particular problem area in the field of economic development. The problem area we have chosen for this year is that of development planning. Further to my colleagues' analyses of the hopes, attempts and experiences of national planners, it may be fitting for me, on this occasion, to concentrate in these opening remarks on the United Nations Development Decade.

Where does the world community stand in the mid-sixties? . . . We have placed before you a picture containing both light and shadow, which I have ventured to reduce in my appraisal to three general propositions: first, the gap of *per capita*

incomes between rich and poor nations continued to widen; second, limitations in resources continue to be pushed back by the progress of science and technology; third, the limitations which remain are those of our ability to organize ourselves with enough courage, purpose and coherence to wipe out the most glaring disparities and create a world society in which both the fruits of progress and the burdens of responsibility will be more equally shared.

However true these three general propositions may be, an effort to see how the last one applies to the various facets of our current situation provides new reasons for hope as well as for concern. . . .

Illiteracy Problem

In education . . . I feel that we can find some encouragement in the progress made since the beginning of the present decade. While we are still far from having made headway in the problem of illiteracy among increasing populations, there is not only more awareness everywhere about the need for better education facilities but also a more systematic effort to build up those facilities, to re-examine what education is and what it should be in our century, to broaden access to it, to devise new methods of imparting it. . . .

But the encouraging trend in education is somewhat offset by the lack of progress towards solving related problems. The younger generation certainly receives more attention today than it did a few years ago. Social and economic experts now agree that youth should be viewed as our most important resource, in the development of which much public investment is warranted. Nevertheless, little has been done to make use of it as an agent for the promotion of international understanding and development.

True, more people, and more young people in particular, cross national borders and meet more people, more young people, from other countries for their mutual enrichment. And there are more volunteer schemes which I find of compelling interest as experiments. I am looking forward to the time when the average youngster — and parent or employer — will consider one or two years of work for the cause of development, either in a faraway country or in a depressed area of his own community, as a normal part of one's education. . . .

Economic Advance

In the economic field, we have taken a very important step forward with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Here, too, new attitudes are emerging. The nature and implications of the problems of international trade have been identified, and a new willingness to face them squarely opens before us the road towards their solution. What is required now is a vigorous follow-up. This more difficult task is being tackled with determination by the Trade and Development Board and, in spite of the difficulty of the issues which their discussion has revealed, international trade has become an area where we may expect to make a considerable contribution in the years ahead.

Our better understanding of the issues of international trade in relation to development and our new readiness to do something about them should greatly help to fight the disenchantment or complacency which seems to pervade the area of development financing on the side of donor countries. International aid has stopped growing and, in my opinion, there are few setbacks which could be worse than this loss of momentum, if it were to persist. Beyond the failure to meet the objective of transferring to the poorer countries one per cent of the national incomes of the richer ones looms the danger of thwarting the chances of many developing countries to achieve self-sustaining growth within a reasonable time. . . .

Regional Financing

Another heartening trend which we may note in this context is the progress of regional schemes for economic co-operation and development financing. When we see countries within a continent become conscious of common development problems, anxious to make their efforts to solve them mutually, supporting and ready to embark upon a joint venture to this effect, then, I submit, we are witnessing progress. . . .

With respect to development financing, it seems to me that the establishment of regional development banks, far from representing a departure from the strengthening of world-wide financial relations, significantly contributes to the diversification of investments and the multilateralization of aid. I hope that, through regional developments banks in less-developed areas, more resources from within and outside the areas concerned can be mobilized for multi-national projects and for undertakings which could not be meaningful within a purely national market, as is often the case in the industrial field.

Special emphasis has been placed in recent years on industrial development . . . (but) . . . whether or not industrialization of developing countries can fully benefit from progress in science and technology during the coming years depends to a great extent, it seems to me, upon the ability of policy-makers, investors and entrepreneurs to dispose of a vexing paradox in a truly international spirit. The paradox is that, while we need more technology for a better world, fewer nations can develop this technology. . . .

Technological Gap

The risks of the technological gap which are beginning to disturb small and medium-sized developed countries are no less serious for the developing countries, where the need for initial access to modern technology available abroad tends to overshadow concern for future autonomous technological development. However successful current efforts to achieve better education and training, to disseminate existing "know-how" more effectively, to improve the international division of labour and to develop national research and technology may be, those governments or enterprises which can afford to devote each year hundreds of millions of dollars to building and manning new laboratories, testing facilities and industrial

complexes will maintain a decisive advantage in the technological race which is shaping the destiny of man. . . .

In the last few years, comprehensive development plans have come to be regarded in more and more countries not as fashionable declarations of intent but as indispensable instruments for the transformation of our environment. The fact that, in so many capitals, policy-makers are now conscious that development requires a comprehensive approach, a strategy integrating all sectoral efforts in a forward-looking manner, seems to me a momentous change of attitude in the right direction. . . .

Should we call the decade a programme of concerted action? . . .

Development Planning

With respect to development planning, the intention is to carry further and increase the scale of our research and operational activities with the benefit of the advice of high-level experts. . . . I intend, as a first step, to convene a small consultative group of outstanding experts, specialists in this field of development planning, men who actually shape the development strategies in their respective countries and whose official positions would not prevent them from serving the United Nations in a personal capacity. . . .

But, beyond concerted action in priority areas of work on the part of international agencies, could we not conceive of the United Nations Development Decade as the closest thing there can be to the kind of perspective planning a world community of sovereign states may wish to give itself?

The General Assembly proclaimed the Decade, but it is in this Council that the discussion, stimulated by the thinking of the vast array of bodies and agencies reporting to you, can concentrate on priorities, on the measurement of progress, or lack thereof, towards objectives and targets, on the evaluation of performance, at the national and international level. And perhaps the Council can help the General Assembly not only to provide the general orientation and guideposts for all that can be done within the framework of the United Nations Development Decade but also to prepare the ground for our future undertakings, while pursuing the current ones. . . .

Canadian View

Speaking for Canada, Mr. Gelber noted that:

. . . A fortnight ago in San Francisco, the twentieth anniversary of the signature of the United Nations Charter was celebrated. There are few bodies within the United Nations system for which the occasion has greater significance than the Economic and Social Council. Twenty years ago, the Council was called upon to discharge the obligations assumed by the United Nations in fostering economic and social well-being and in commanding respect for human rights. Looking about us 20 years later, we cannot avoid some obvious conclusions. The world as we

know it has changed and the United Nations has changed with it. The vital link between peace and economic and social progress remains. Canada has sought to play its full part in both these sectors of United Nations effort. Today, on the economic and social front, and within the scope of Article 55 of the Charter, the primary and common concern is with the problems of the developing countries. In this context the tasks outlined in that Article have yet to be accomplished.

Over this same period, realism in our approach to the development process has also grown. It has begun to match the idealism which informed our efforts from the very beginning. . . .

New Institutions Not Enough

Another lesson we have learned over the past 20 years is that the creation of new institutions is in itself not enough. A new institution provides only the framework within which a problem can be attacked. . . . Only when individual governments are prepared to respond can machinery be made to work and difficult decisions be successfully implemented. . . . Finally . . . we have recognized the truth of the dictum that both the strength and the weakness of the United Nations is that it has become essential before it has become fully effective.

The twentieth anniversary of the United Nations coincides with the midpoint in the Development Decade — an appropriate opportunity to examine the achievements of the Decade to date, assess those achievements in the light of the goals we have set and establish guidelines for the tasks ahead. The efforts of the United Nations system in the field of economic and social development must be measured by standards which are neither too stringent nor too lax. . . .

The accomplishments and shortcomings of the Decade have been examined in detail in the Secretary-General's two main reports. The major conclusion which one must draw from these reports is that the goals we had originally set ourselves are not being realized. As is pointed out, the "progress thus far achieved towards the objectives of the Decade is less impressive than the fact that these objectives, although not very ambitious, remain quite distant". . . .

Trade and Economic Growth

Although the progress achieved has been disappointing, we should not overlook the impressive achievements so far realized. My Government considers as one approach of particular significance the increasing international recognition of the vital role that trade must play in economic development. This recognition was dramatically reflected in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which has now been established as permanent machinery. The UNCTAD will provide us with a permanent forum where the particular trading problems of the developing countries may be considered in detail and recommendations for new trades policies made. My Government intends to participate actively and constructively in the wide range of work this new organization has set itself. . . .

The growing recognition of the role that trade must play in development is

also reflected in the work of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. In 1962, a programme of action was put forward to promote the trade of the developing countries and, more recently, the Contracting Parties approved new provisions of the General Agreement concerned primarily with trade and development. My Government believes that the most effective means of assisting the developing countries to expand their export earnings is through a positive programme of improved market access. Such a programme would include tariff reductions . . . on manufactured goods of interest to the developing countries, without expecting full reciprocity from them for benefits received . . ., elimination or reduction of trade barriers that now deter larger sales of the developing countries' primary and tropical products . . . (and) a general removal of quantitative restrictions now impeding the developing countries' exports of manufactured goods into the markets of the industrialized countries.

Aid Programmes

In the field of aid, there are also many notable achievements to record. . . . We have, for example, established the World Food Programme to make use of food aid as a contribution towards economic and social development. The World Bank and its affiliates, the IDA and IFC, have helped lead the way in providing long-term loans on concessional terms. More recently, they have broken new ground by making funds available in the vitally important fields of education and agriculture. We have also established an Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology. We believe that this Committee can make a real contribution, both by facilitating the transfer of scientific knowledge and techniques to developing countries and by concerting international scientific efforts in areas crucial to their development.

Since the Second World War, Canada has made substantial contributions to international development. . . . We were among the founding members of the Colombo Plan . . . (and) have maintained a substantial aid and technical assistance programme directed toward the countries in South Asia . . . the Caribbean and in Africa. We have also drawn on our French-speaking heritage in implementing technical assistance programmes in French-speaking countries in Africa. My Government hopes that the special Fund and the Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance, which are doing such excellent work, will receive increasing support from United Nations members. We hope, too, that the World Food Programme will be continued and on a much expanded basis. Canada is a major contributor to the United Nations multilateral programmes financed by voluntary contributions. Our bilateral and multilateral aid programmes have increased by more than 50 per cent in the past two years, and a very large part of these programmes now consists of grants and long-term interest-free loans. To an increasing extent our aid is being channelled through multilateral institutions . . . (and) we stand ready to consider seriously all reasonable ways to expand United Nations work in the field of industrial development.

Role of Youth

In his statement, the Secretary-General described youth as "our most important resource in the development of which much public investment is warranted". He went on to say: "I am looking forward to the time when the average youngster — and parent or employer — will consider that one or two years of work for the cause of development, either in a faraway country or in a depressed area of his own community, is a normal part of one's education". This concept is one to which we in Canada are already receptive. To complement the active role which universities and other voluntary institutions have played in our country in this regard, the Government recently announced the establishment of the Company of Young Canadians, which will arrange for our young people to work and serve in the developing countries, as well as in areas in Canada where there is a need and a challenge.

The disappointing results in this first half of the Development Decade make it clear that special efforts must be made in the years ahead if the ever-increasing population of the world is to be fed and clothed and widespread poverty and ignorance overcome. Both the Secretary-General's reports and his statement to the Council draw our attention to one of the most pressing problems of our time — the fact that development gains could be nullified by rapid population growth. The Canadian delegation fully recognizes the urgency of this problem.

Ending Discrimination

Another urgent problem in the social field is the elimination of all discrimination from our modern world, whether racial, linguistic, cultural or religious. We have to recognize that homogeneity is neither possible nor even desirable. To use the striking expression of the Secretary-General, our planet is *one* and "little more than a space ship carrying the human race through infinity". Harmony and concord will be preserved among the crew members of this ship only through mutual respect for each one's colour, each one's creed, each one's belief and the dignity of all. We have inherited from our forefathers a world of diversity; the specific challenge before us is to find the point of equilibrium between diversity and unity. This is as true on the international as on the national level.

Clearly, the overall resources available for economic and social development must be marshalled and used as effectively as possible. We in this Council have a special interest in encouraging the United Nations family of organizations to concentrate on tasks of highest priority when adding new work to their various programmes and to make every effort to avoid duplication and dissipation of effort. To this end, we must redouble our efforts to evaluate this work. . . .

We should like to conclude by expressing our appreciation to the Secretary-General and to all of those who have contributed to the work that has gone into the preparation of (his) comprehensive progress report. . . . It shows us something of the breadth of the effort undertaken by the component parts of the United Nations system . . . (and) indicates clearly the connecting roads and signposts leading to development. . . . The common element in all these agencies is not

merely their multilateral character, or the stake each of us has in the effectiveness of their efforts. It rests above all in the degree to which each of them, within its own field and resources, has given high priority to the social and economic progress of the developing countries.

So complex and varied are the tasks illustrated in the report that co-ordination, assessment and evaluation are essential if the overall resources and skills available to our international institutions are to be wisely and effectively used. At the thirty-eighth session of the Council, the Canadian delegation made clear its view that, within the United Nations family, the Council alone has the scope and the authority to assess the development activities — taken in the broadest sense — of all the component parts of the United Nations and of the United Nations itself. We must identify areas where the agencies of the United Nations should be doing more to stimulate action where action is required, and to give coherence and direction to this concerted assault on the broad and wide-ranging problems of development. The responsibility and the vantage point of this Council are unique. In renewing our efforts, each of us must make full use of this opportunity for appraisal and leadership which our membership in this Council provides. . . .

Peace-Keeping Operations

The following statement was made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, on June 22, 1965, to the Standing Committee on External Affairs of the House of Commons:

Mr. Chairman . . . I would like now to deal, as I indicated I would, with some of the problems as we see them involved in the relationship between the peace-making functions of the United Nations and the regional agencies. What I had in mind particularly was the situation in the Dominican Republic, and the use that is being made of the Organization of American States' Peace Force. I would also like to make a comment on the proposal of the President of India in connection with a possible peace-keeping operation made up of Afro-Asian countries in respect of the situation in Vietnam.

When I made my statement in the House of Commons on May 28, I referred to the decision of the Organization of American States to create an inter-American force to be sent to the Dominican Republic. I would like to remind the Committee of what the Secretary-General of the United Nations had to say in this connection on May 27. He spoke as follows:

It is far from my intention to question the jurisdiction or the competence of regional organizations in performing certain functions, in accordance with the constitutions laid down by those organizations. But, from the point of view of the functioning of the United Nations in accordance with the Charter, I think recent developments should stimulate some thought by all of us regarding the character of the regional organizations, the nature of their functions and obligations in relation to the responsibilities of the United Nations under the Charter.

I think that this statement of the Secretary-General was an important one because, while we look now with some concern at unilateral action, we have to be careful that any action taken in the peace-keeping field by a regional organization is not an instrument that is being used by a particular nation for purposes of meeting the problems that would be envisaged by it in what might be regarded as a unilateral action.

I would, therefore, like to try to explain our views regarding the relationship between United Nations peace-keeping and the performance of this function by regional organizations. But what I want to say assumes that there has arisen a situation, in the Dominican Republic or anywhere, which justifies international action in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Article 52 (1) of the United Nations Charter provides that:

Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purpose, and Principles of the United Nations.

As far as I am aware, the only peace-keeping operations that have taken place outside the United Nations have been the result of the accord of the Geneva powers in 1954 when they decided to set up one body in North and South Viet-

nam, one body in Cambodia and one in Laos, all bearing the title International Control and Supervisory Commissions, of which Canada, India and Poland are members. Now, these are not para-military or military bodies, although they have military personnel attached to them in varying numbers. The functions of these three bodies are different, of course, from the functions of the Force in Cyprus or the Force in the Gaza Strip, but they are supervisory, peace-keeping bodies of a different character. They are peace-keeping bodies set up outside the United Nations. They were set up because some of the powers at the Geneva Conference were not members of the United Nations and would not have been willing to sit under the auspices of the United Nations. It was not contrary to the United Nations that they should have made the decision that they did, but obviously the problem presented in the case of these Indochina Commissions is not the problem presented in the case of the peace force operating under the Organization of American States.

As I said, the Charter, through Article 52 (1), is explicit. There is nothing in the Charter that would preclude the setting up by the OAS of a peace force. What is important is that such arrangements must be consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 53 of the Charter should also, I think, be referred to. It says:

The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in Paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for presenting further aggression by such a state.

In Subsection 2 of Article 53, it is provided:

The term "enemy state" as used in Paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

The following two paragraphs of Article 52 encourage member states to settle their disputes peacefully by regional action first and require the Security Council to foster this principle. But, as I have just indicated, the Charter also provides for appropriate Security Council action in respect of arrangements or in connection with agencies that are established for enforcement purposes, always, of course, under the authority of the Security Council.

"Enforcement action" under Chapter VII of the Charter has never, I think, been satisfactorily defined. What we believe is that it refers to the use of armed force to deal with acts of aggression as envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter. There is, of course, no explicit reference in the Charter to peace keeping as it has come to be known in the form of United Nations action in the Gaza Strip or in Cyprus or in some of the other peace-keeping operations. These forces — and this is one of the disputes that we have with the position taken by the Soviet Union — have not, strictly speaking, been concerned with enforcement action. Their function has been more preventive than forcible. They have been raised voluntarily and operate on the basis of the consent of the nations concerned.

There are two questions that are involved here: first, is there any reason to object to regional agencies performing the preventive peace-keeping role as it has been developed in the United Nations? All of the peace-keeping operations, apart from those in Indochina, have been under the United Nations and have been performed by a United Nations body. I see nothing in the Charter to which any objection to such rule could properly be registered, providing always, of course, that it is consistent with the purposes and the principles of the United Nations. Not only do I see no objection, I think that the reverse is true. The precedents, of which there are few, point to the competence of the regional agency to investigate or ameliorate disputes. The Organization of American States has generally maintained its authority to deal with inter-American disputes and has tried to settle such disputes before referring them to the United Nations. Few Latin-American disputes have come before the Security Council, and no United Nations peace-keeping body has been set up in respect of inter-American disputes.

But I think it can be said that the Security Council has, in practice, always asserted, at any rate, the right, indeed the authority, to take what might be regarded as action involving concurrent jurisdiction.

The Security Council of the United Nations cannot be, and has not ever been, excluded from making recommendations about inter-American disputes, or with regard to the circumstances that are likely to create international tension.

So it would seem to us that the wisest view would be that the United Nations and regional agencies have a complementary role to play in peace-keeping developments; and it may be that one of the ways by which we will be able to establish a greater support for peace-keeping activities is by recognizing the potential role of regional bodies, particularly in those areas of the world where there is a suspicion against the participation of certain member states.

It will be recalled that in the Suez operation there was a reluctance made manifest to the participation of certain forces from Canada, and the contribution made by Canada to the Congo operation was essentially functional, in that we sent signallers and not what might be regarded as para-combat units.

The Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, in 1954 said: "A policy giving full scope to the proper role of regional agencies can and should at the same time fully preserve the right of a member nation to a hearing under the Charter".

The implication of this is that the use of any "regional agency" should not be so unrelated to the Security Council of the United Nations as to deny any country in that region making an appeal to the United Nations itself.

Second, there is the inter-American action in the Dominican Republic, one that I think must be dependent upon the declared or implied authorization of the Security Council.

Now, in that situation, clearly, the use of force was and is involved, but so too was the use of force involved in the Congo; and the United Nations Operation was not considered to be enforcement action within the meaning of Chapter VII, as is contended by the Soviet Union.

In the present case, in the Dominican Republic, the action would appear to involve the interposition of force between factions within a state and is, therefore, similar to the role of the United Nations Force in the Congo, as a result of action taken by Katanga Province, and likewise the situation in Cyprus, where the Force is interposed between two communities that are made up of citizens of the same state.

Now this problem is not free from some difficulties. But I think it is fair to say, for purposes of our discussion, that the OAS is not involved in the Dominican Republic in enforcement action. These are legalistic considerations, I know, but they have a very important basis if we are to assert the authority of the United Nations in respect of any action that is taken enforcementwise or preventively, and to avoid the dangers that run from unilateral action, the kind of action which we wish to see minimized if we are going to strengthen the ultimate authority of the United Nations.

I would like to make the following points as a result of what I have said:

- (1) Both the United Nations and regional agencies or organizations have a role to play in dealing with disputes or threats to the peace.
- (2) The United Nations must be concerned with all situations affecting peace and security and cannot be denied the right to decide whether it will or should intervene.
- (3) Enforcement action should not be taken without the approval of the Security Council.

That is a statement of what I believe should be the ideal situation, but there is disagreement over the meaning of the term — that is, enforcement action — and there may be occasions when some action would be preferable to the paralysis of action brought about by a veto in the Council, and this is the situation, I think, in the Dominican Republic.

- (4) Even if a peace-keeping action authorized and taken by a regional agency does not constitute enforcement action, nevertheless we would take the view that it is important for regional organizations engaged in any action involving the maintenance of international security to conduct the operation in close association with the United Nations, which retains overall responsibility for preserving international peace and security.

Now, in the case of the Dominican Republic, when the OAS sought to give the international umbrella to the peace-keeping operation in the face of the inability of the United Nations itself to act, there was no decision by the Security Council. There was, indeed, an expression of opposition to the operation in the Security Council by the Soviet Union.

Note was taken of the OAS action. I do not think, however, that one could say that the notation that was given implicitly amounted to the consensus procedure that more and more is being adopted in organs of the United Nations such as was done, as I mentioned yesterday, in the case of the establishment of a peace observation mission in the Yemen.

The President of India suggested some time ago that it might be useful, while the conflict was still on and before there was final settlement, that there should be established a peace body, or a "peace force" as it is sometimes called, of persons made up of Afro-Asians, although I do not think he defined that it should be under the auspices of the United Nations.

The Government of India later, however, in discussing this particular proposal, did make the suggestion that some consideration should be given to the utilization for this purpose of the United Nations' umbrella.

It will be recalled earlier that the Prime Minister of Canada had suggested that after the settlement there should be established — preferably under the auspices of the United Nations but, because of the practical situation, at least under the auspices of the international community — some kind of force to provide for a continuing recognition of an obligation that would have been incurred by the nations attending the conference on Vietnam, but with the purpose of seeing to it that whatever settlement was made at that conference would be observed by all sides. So that the concept of the President of India, later associated with the Government of India, in principle, was not different from that proposed by the Prime Minister, except the period when the proposal would come into being was different. In the case of India, it would come into being while there was still discussion as to the terms of settlement; in the case of the proposal of the Prime Minister, this would come in as one of the ways of guaranteeing the implementation of the settlement itself. Therefore, we have had put before us, particularly in the Dominican Republic, somewhat of a new situation, and the only point I want to make is that the Canadian Government feels strongly that, in respect of any regional peace-keeping operation, an endeavour must be made to see to it that it derives its authority or its approval from the proper organ in the United Nations so as to avoid the dangers of abuse of action by any one state or any group of states in respect of situations which we believe can take place only under the authority of the United Nations.

Now, in the case of the Dominican Republic, there may have been practical considerations involved; certainly, if a proposal had been made in the Security Council at this stage for the establishment of a regional force with the sanction of the Security Council, there would have been placed in the deliberations a veto by one of the great powers. I suppose, as an effort was being made to maintain the peace, it was more important in this stage of progressive development of international organization that there be peace rather than consideration as to what was legally desirable. But we must not overlook the consequences of the development that has taken place. The first time this happened was in the Congo, I think, and now we have it in the situation in the Dominican Republic, where there was no threat to the peace by a state operating against the Dominican Republic; that was a situation where factions within the same state were engaged in conflict with one another in a manner that threatened the peace. But, I am sure, there would be a lot of purists who would argue that the United Nations itself would not have

had any authority to intervene unless one regards the precedent in the Congo — not what happened at the beginning in the Congo but what happened as a result of the revolt by one province in the Congo operation. I think I state that situation correctly.

This matter was raised in our House of Commons, not critically, by the Leader of the Opposition at that time, the present Prime Minister, who asked the then Secretary of State for External Affairs whether the Government had given consideration to the intervention of the United Nations in respect of the Katanga revolt, when it first began, after the United Nations itself had been properly launched in the Congo operation.

Mr. Chairman, that is all I have to say about this problem.

of letters between the Bank and the Corporation signed by Felipe Herrera, President of the Bank, and H. T. Aitken, President of ECIC.

The \$15 million set aside is over and above the \$10 million in development loans provided under an agreement Canada signed with the Bank on December 4, 1964, for economic, technical and educational assistance to Latin American countries.

The new agreement will provide financing for foreign-exchange requirements on projects in Latin America. In co-operation with the Bank, ECIC will administer this long-term financing under the Canadian Government's export-financing programme.

Not a Limit

In announcing the agreement, Mr. Sharp said that the \$15 million is not to be regarded as the limit of Canadian financing available to Latin America in the form of long-term credits. Projects presented direct to ECIC by Canadian exporters for financing under Section 21A of the Export Credits Insurance Act will continue to be considered. Provisions of this Section will also apply to the loans financed jointly with the Bank. Commercial interest rates will be applied and payments will be spread over periods of up to 20 years.

The Inter-American Development Bank was established in 1960 by Latin American countries and the United States to foster economic and social growth in Latin America. The Bank co-operated with ECIC in 1963 to provide the foreign exchange requirement for a \$38-million pulp mill in Chile.

The new agreement makes it possible for Canadian exporters to participate in extensive projects in Latin America sponsored by the Inter-American Development Bank.

Canada-France Parliamentary Relations

On June 23, 1965, the Honourable Alan Macnaughton, Speaker of the House of Commons, paid an official visit in Paris to his French colleague, Mr. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, President of the French National Assembly. After their meeting, on July 19, they issued the following communiqué, which was published simultaneously in Ottawa and Paris:

The French National Assembly, on the recommendation of its President, Mr. Chaban-Delmas, has accepted the invitation which was presented by the Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, the Honourable Alan Macnaughton, on his recent visit to France, for a delegation of French parliamentarians from the National Assembly to make an official visit to Canada this summer. Led by Mr. Achille Peretti, Vice-President of the National Assembly and Deputy Mayor of Neuilly, a delegation of six or seven will arrive in Ottawa on August 30 for a four-day official visit to meet with Canadian Members of Parliament. Among other things, the French Deputies and their Canadian colleagues will discuss the setting up of a new Canada-France Parliamentary Association to provide a regular



Left to right: The Honourable Alan Macnaughton, Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons; Mr. Chaban-Delmas, President of the French National Assembly; Mr. Jules Léger, Ambassador of Canada to France.



Senator Louis André, President of the France-Canada Friendship Group of the French Senate (left), in conversation with Governor-General Georges P. Vanier, and Madame Vanier.

link between the Canadian and French Parliaments. The Canadian Parliament now participates in four parliamentary associations: the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the Canada-U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the NATO Parliamentary Association.

Following the discussions in Ottawa, the French delegation will spend several days visiting other Canadian centers, including a visit to the Expo '67 site in Montreal.

They will return to France on September 11.

French Senators Visit Canada

From June 27 to July 22, six Senators from the France-Canada Friendship Group of the French Senate made a goodwill tour of Canada, from Vancouver to Halifax. Led by the Honourable Senator Louis André, President of the France-Canada Friendship Group of the Senate of France, the delegation also included Honourable Senators Adolphe Chauvin, Charles Laurent-Thouverey, Jean Péri-dier, Modeste Zussy and André Plait and was accompanied by a secretary, Mr. Paul Blociszewski, Head of the Questura of the Senate.

During their stay in Ottawa, from July 11 to 13, the French Senators paid a

private visit to the Governor General and were received at luncheon by the Honourable Maurice Sauvé, Minister of Forestry, on behalf of the Canadian Government, and by the President of the Senate of Canada, the Honourable Senator Maurice Bourget. They also paid a visit to the Minister of Justice, the Honourable Lucien Cardin, and to the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Marcel Cadieux.

TRIBUTE TO ADLAI STEVENSON

At a press conference held on July 14, 1965, Prime Minister L. B. Pearson, on being informed of the sudden death of Adlai E. Stevenson, made the following statement:

"... I can only express very deep grief and great shock at the news of Adlai Stevenson's death. The shock is increased by the fact that it is so unexpected; no one had any reason to think that Mr. Stevenson was in anything but the best of health.

"My immediate reaction is that I have lost a very old and close personal friend, but, of course, his death, while it means primarily a personal loss to his friends and to his family, means much more than that to millions of people who never had the privilege of meeting him.

"He was one of the strong and eloquent voices of freedom in the world, a magnificent man, a great diplomat, tireless fighter for peace, one of the most civilized men in political and in international affairs.

"It is very hard to exaggerate the importance of Adlai Stevenson to his country and to the free world in the last 15 or 20 years. I can't think of any American who will be more greatly missed."

Queen Mother on Private Visit to Canada

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother paid a private visit to her regiment, the Toronto Scottish, from June 23 to 27, 1965. The main purpose of her visit was to present new colours to the Toronto Scottish Regiment, of which she is Colonel in Chief, on their fiftieth anniversary. The Queen Mother presented the new colours in an impressive and colourful ceremony at Toronto's Varsity Stadium. The old colours had been presented by her in 1939, when she visited Canada with her husband the late King George VI. The Queen Mother also attended several other functions with the members of the Toronto Scottish.

In addition to presenting the new colours, the Queen Mother had a busy timetable. She visited the Red Cross Lodge at Sunnybrook Hospital and the Toronto Women's College Hospital. She attended the 106th running of the Queen's Plate. This was the third Queen's Plate race that the Queen Mother had attended.

The Queen Mother had lunch with the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, a former Governor General of Canada, at the latter's house, Batterwood, near Port



Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, accompanied by His Excellency Governor General Vanier, arrives at Toronto Airport, where she is presented with a bouquet by Frances Learment, 12, a Girl Guide.

Hope, Ontario. She also attended several dinners. On June 24, at a dinner given by the Empire Club in honour of the Toronto Scottish Regiment, Her Majesty said, in the course of remarks to the guests:

I think I fell in love with Canada when the King and I came here in 1939, and each time I come back my feeling of affection seems to grow.

Before her departure on June 27, the Queen Mother attended divine service at St. James Anglican Cathedral and then went to Knox Presbyterian Church for the "laying up" of the old colours of the Toronto Scottish Regiment.

While the visit of the Queen Mother was a private one, she was warmly received wherever she went and once again captivated those who saw her through her gentle dignity and warm charm.

Canada's External Aid Office

ANNUAL REPORT, 1964-65

THE ANNUAL report of the External Aid Office was presented to the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs on June 29, 1965, by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs. Introducing it, Mr. Martin called the Committee's attention to the following features of the 1964-65 Development Assistance Programme:

- An increase of almost 50 per cent in grant assistance;

- a new \$50-million "soft" loan programme;

- increased grants to multilateral organizations, including a pledge to double the Canadian subscription to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development;

- an administrative improvement allowing the Canadian Government to respond more quickly to appeals from nations hit by natural disasters;

- a special food-aid programme;

- significant increases in the allocations of funds to French-speaking Africa, Commonwealth Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America — areas with which Canada has special or historical links;

- an increase in the number of training programmes arranged for overseas students in Canada, and in the number of professors, teachers and advisers sent abroad;

- a record quantity of counterpart funds generated in several recipient countries.

The report points out as follows that a clear pattern of emphasis in the four major fields of power, transport, natural resources and education emerges from the broad list of undertakings handled by the External Aid Office in the last fiscal year:

"This pattern indicates that the developing countries believe that there are four areas in which Canada is pre-eminently qualified to render capital assistance. This may be assumed because Canada acts only in response to requests submitted by various countries for help on projects which have been included, wherever possible, in the national development plans drafted by the recipient government.

"These fields represent some of the most important and direct contributions that can be made to economic and social development.

"Power is a key element in development and therefore it is natural that the larger and older Asian countries, which have both raw materials and vast domestic markets, have tended to give priority to electrification. Hydro-electric, thermal and nuclear power developments have been built with Canadian assistance, as have the transmission-lines needed to carry the power to the areas where it is required. India and Pakistan have been the principal beneficiaries, but smaller countries like Ceylon, Guinea and Malaysia have also received assistance in this field.

"*Transport* facilities are also a vital part of the economic infrastructure. Canada is currently undertaking either engineering studies or actual construction of bridges in Guinea, Burma and Jamaica; airport development in Ceylon and Trinidad; and port development in Trinidad, Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Singapore.

"*Natural Resources* — Canada has done a good deal to assist various countries to learn more about their agricultural, mineral, forestry and fisheries potential and to develop techniques for effective exploitation. For example, we are engaged in fisheries work in Malaysia, Ceylon, Pakistan, Nigeria and Uganda, forestry in Tobago, Kenya and Nigeria, water-resources development in Montserrat, St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla, geological surveys in India and Uganda, and natural-resources mapping surveys in Malaysia, Nigeria and Tanzania.

"*Education* has been the fastest-growing of all the major fields. It illustrates, in a unique way, the complementary nature of capital and technical assistance. As an example of our capital-assistance work, we have provided equipment for scores of schools in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean (53 technical and trade schools in Malaysia alone) and last year we began the actual construction of school buildings in a number of countries. Canada played a part in building three engineering institutes in India, a trades-training centre in Ghana, a residence at the University of the West Indies in Trinidad, and four elementary schools in Grenada, Dominica and Antigua. Under our educational-assistance programme, Canada sponsored training programmes and courses of study for over 1,800 overseas students from 63 different countries and sent abroad almost 400 teachers and professors. The new emphasis on education can be illustrated by the fact that, four years ago, only 43 teachers and five professors were serving abroad under the official aid programmes. In addition to teachers, Canada also provides technical experts for overseas service in such diverse fields as public administration, medicine, soil science, fisheries, plant pathology, electrical engineering and metallurgy. These technical advisers, when added to the number of professors and teachers serving abroad, represent a total of 545 individual Canadians under contract to the External Aid Office. Since 1960, annual expenditures on fees or allowances, transportation and related costs for experts, teachers and trainees have risen from approximately \$1 million to some \$9 million."

A summary of the total official Canadian aid effort for 1964-65 is as follows (the first three programmes being the operational responsibility of the External Aid Office):

	Millions of Cdn. \$
Bilateral Grant Aid	60.6
Bilateral Development Loans	50.0
Food Aid	22.0
Bilateral Export Credits	76.0
Multilateral Grants	9.6
Subscriptions to IDA	7.9
TOTAL	226.1

Canadian-Hungarian Relations

ON MAY 22, 1965, Mr. Malcolm N. Bow presented his Letters of Credence to the Hungarian authorities in Budapest and became the first Canadian Ambassador to Hungary. The appointment of a Canadian Ambassador to Hungary marks a significant step forward in the development of relations between Canada and Hungary.

Agreements Signed

Underlying the improvement in Canadian-Hungarian relations are several agreements signed in Ottawa on June 11, 1964, covering trade, consular matters, claims and diplomatic relations. In accordance with the agreement covering diplomatic relations, Hungarian diplomatic personnel arrived in Ottawa in December 1964 and opened an Embassy, which is at present under the direction of a chargé d'aff-



Canada's first Ambassador to Hungary, Mr. M. V. Bow (left), presents his Letters of Credence to his Excellency Istvan Dobi, President of the Presidential Council of Hungary.

fares *ad interim*, Mr. Janos Bartha. The new Canadian Ambassador to Hungary, Mr. Bow, is currently resident in Prague, where he serves as Canadian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. It is the intention of the Government to open a resident mission in Budapest and appoint a resident Ambassador in the near future.

The volume of trade between Canada and Hungary has expanded at a gratifying rate since the signing of the trade agreement. This agreement involved an exchange of most-favoured-nation treatment between Canada and Hungary and a Hungarian commitment to purchase Canadian wheat and other (unspecified) commodities to a total minimum value of \$24 million over three years.

The agreement covering claims provides for negotiations leading to a lump-sum settlement of claims of Canadian citizens against Hungary. It was envisaged that this settlement would include claims of Canadians arising out of pre-war debts, war damages, and property which has been subject to nationalization or expropriation by the Hungarian Government in the post-war period. Subsequent public announcements were made inviting Canadians who had claims against Hungary to submit the details of their claims to the Claims Section of the Department of External Affairs before December 1, 1964, for processing preparatory to negotiations. The Government is currently engaged in preliminary discussions with the Hungarian Government in order to fix an early date for the commencement of negotiations.

There has been a marked relaxation on the part of the Hungarian authorities in the regulations governing the entry and freedom of action of visiting Canadians during the past two or three years. Canadians, including those of Hungarian origin and those who are dual nationals, have encountered few obstacles while travelling in Hungary.

Some progress has also been made on the reunification of families and it is hoped that, in the near future, outstanding cases will be settled to the satisfaction of both the Hungarian and the Canadian Governments.

Improving Relations

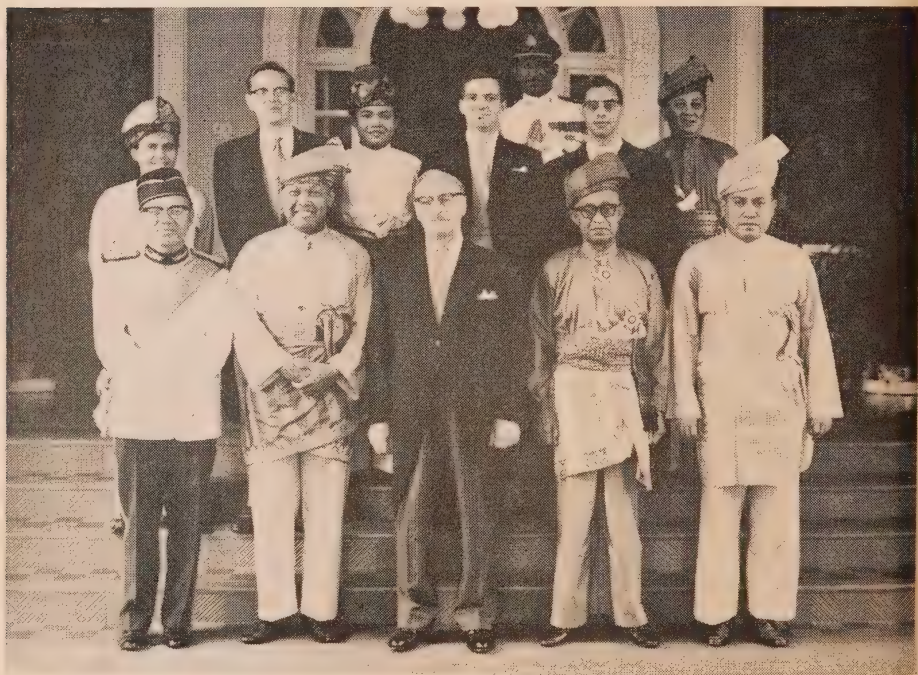
The improving tenor of Canadian-Hungarian relations and the hope for the future was emphasized in the address of the new Canadian Ambassador upon the presentation of his credentials:

In presenting my Letters of Credence to Your Excellency, I wish to express the satisfaction of the Government and the people of Canada that the relations of our two countries have improved. The exchange of diplomatic representatives between Canada and Hungary offers new opportunities to improve relations, and at the beginning of my appointment to Hungary, I wish to assure you, Your Excellency, that the Canadian Government welcomes this prospect.

High Commissioner to Malaysia Presents Credentials

CANADA'S new High Commissioner to Malaysia, Mr. B. C. Butler, presented his letter of Commission to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Malaysia's head of state, at the Istana Negara, the royal palace, in Kuala Lumpur on June 8, 1965. Mr. Butler has been a career member of the Canadian Foreign Trade Service and was formerly Minister for Commercial Affairs in the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner in London.

On the occasion of his presentation of credentials, Mr. Butler received a general salute from a guard of honour mounted by the Royal Malay Regiment before proceeding in procession to the throne room of the Royal Palace, where he presented his Letter of Commission to his Majesty. The Yang di-Pertuan Agong, or supreme head of the Federation, is one of Malaysia's nine princely Malay rulers. The rulers elect one of their number to hold the office of head of state for five years.



In the above photograph, Mr. Butler and members of his staff in the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner pose with the Controller of the Royal Household, Dato Ja'afar bin Mampak, and the Permanent Secretary of the Malaysian Ministry of External Affairs, Dato Mohd. Ghazali Shafie, and other Malaysian officials following the High Commissioner's presentation of credentials.

Tour by Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources

CANADA AND THE U.S.S.R. have vast northern territories whose proper development involves an intimate knowledge of how to deal with permafrost. Since this problem is common to the northland areas of both countries, it has long been recognized that both Canada and the Soviet Union have much to gain by exchanging information. Proposals for such an exchange and for visits to permafrost areas have been discussed for several years. In 1964, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources invited a group of ambassadors accredited to Canada, including the Soviet Ambassador, to visit the Canadian North. Although the Soviet envoy was unable to make the trip arrangements were shortly afterward worked out for the Honourable Arthur Laing, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and a party of officials from his Department, to visit the Soviet Union as guests of the Construction Committee of the Council of Ministers (Gosstroy) and for a return visit to be made to Canada by a Soviet group. Included in the tour arranged for Mr. Laing, which took place between May 25 and June 11, were visits to Irkutsk, Bratsk, Yakutsk and Norilsk, where permafrost conditions (in one form or another) have had to be dealt with in construction, in the exploitation of natural resources and in the provision of municipal services.



Mr. Arthur Laing, Canada's Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources (left foreground) is met at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport by Georgy Karavayev, First Deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Construction (right).

Visits to other Countries

Before their visit to the U.S.S.R. Mr. Laing's party visited the Scott Polar Institute in Britain, and went on to Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland, where they were given every opportunity to meet those interested in northern development problems and were provided with special facilities to visit development projects being carried out under subarctic conditions. They also had every opportunity to investigate the manner in which communities living in northern latitudes deal with such conditions.

Mr. Laing's party arrived in Moscow on May 25. During the next few days, arrangements were made for the Canadians to visit the University of Moscow and the Arctic Institute in Leningrad, where they were able to discuss problems of construction in permafrost areas and to visit laboratories.

The party was then flown to Irkutsk, where Mr. Laing and the officials accompanying him conferred with members of the Eastern Siberian Council of National Economy, were taken to visit an aluminum smelter, the Irkutsk hydro-electric station and the Limnology Institute of Baikal. Both in Irkutsk and in Bratsk, which the party also visited, the Canadians were interested in construction methods employed, particularly in the giant hydro-electric project near Bratsk, under conditions of discontinuous permafrost. In Bratsk, the Canadians were the first foreigners to be shown the vast Forest Industrial Complex, where Canadian sawmill equipment is eventually to be installed.

In Yakutsk, which the Canadians were taken next, extensive discussions were held at the Yakutsk Institute of Permafrost of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. The group was also given an opportunity at Djedbariki Chaya to watch coal-mining operations under permafrost conditions and to discuss the general problems of mineral extraction in areas where the frost never leaves the ground.

An Impressive Achievement

The next stop on the itinerary was Norilsk. This was the first occasion on which any Western group had been permitted to visit the relatively new but growing community of 100,000 people. The city and the mining industry about which it was built, located on the 69th Parallel, are impressive examples of what can be done under permafrost conditions. In Norilsk, the permanently frozen ground is treated as a solid foundation, on which eight-storey buildings, and an entire smelter complex comparable to that at Sudbury, Ontario, have been constructed; on the other hand, municipal services such as water supply and sewage are carried in insulated tunnels bored deep below the frost level.

On his return to Moscow, the Minister held further discussions with the Construction Committee of the Council of Ministers (Gosstroy) with a view to developing further exchanges between Canada and the Soviet Union in fields related to northern development. A Soviet delegation has been invited to visit Canada and the Canadian North, beginning their tour in the middle of August. It is expected that from these visits further exchanges will take place.

Fellows in Diplomacy Visit Ottawa

FROM JUNE 16 to 20, 1965, 15 Carnegie Endowment Fellows in Diplomacy visited Ottawa, after a year of study at Columbia University, New York, and before visiting several European capitals and the city of Tunis. The Carnegie Fellows are diplomats from Africa, the Middle East, the Far East, and the West Indies. They are chosen for the fellowships, offered by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, by a selection committee that includes the Director-General of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

This is the second year in which the Department of External Affairs has arranged a programme for these Fellows during a visit to Ottawa. A comparable



Members of the group of Carnegie Fellows who visited Canada recently: Front row (left to right) — Mr. Conrad S. M. Mselle (Tanzania), Mr. Adib Mohamad Chaalan (Syria), Mrs. G. O. V. Cox (Sierra Leone), Mr. Mohamed Juma Afana (Jordan), Mr. Ernesto C. Pineda (Philippines), Mr. Leandro I. Verceles (Philippines); centre row — Miss Pham-My-Luong (South Vietnam), Mr. Osman Amadu-Suka (Nigeria), Miss Rosemarie Smellie (Jamaica), Mr. George O. V. Cox (Sierra Leone); rear row — Mr. Thomas P. Masaro (Tanzania), Mr. Ahmed Mohamed Nur (Sudan), Mr. Stanley B. K. Nyirenda (Zambia), Mr. Yun Park (Korea), Mr. Habib Ben Yahia (Tunisia). Miss Kezia N. Waiyaki (Kenya) is missing from this group.

group, based at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, was received in April by the Canadian Embassy in Berne.

The group visiting Ottawa was entertained at dinner by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, who addressed them after dinner on "the art of diplomacy". Lectures were given to the group by officers of the Department of External Affairs, the External Aid Office and the Department of Trade and Commerce. The Fellows were received by the Clerk of the House of Commons, Mr. L. J. Raymond, and by members of the faculty of Carleton University, Ottawa. As guests of the St. Lawrence Parks Commission, they visited the R. H. Saunders Generating Station and Hydro project at Cornwall, Upper Canada Village and the Iroquois Lock.



On June 21, 1965, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin announced to the House of Commons that Canada would pledge a voluntary and unconditional contribution of \$4 million to help the United Nations weather its present financial difficulties. The same day, Ambassador Paul Tremblay, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations (right in the photograph above), informed Secretary-General U Thant (left) of the decision of the Canadian Government.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- Third UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders: Stockholm, August 9-18
- UNCTAD, second session of the Trade and Development Board: Geneva, August 24 - September 14
- World Population Conference: Belgrade, August 30 - September 10
- UN General Assembly, resumed nineteenth session: New York, September 1
- Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), 4th session: Paris, September 15-29
- International Atomic Energy Agency, ninth General Conference: Tokyo, September 21-30
- UN Sugar Conference: New York, September 20
- UN General Assembly, twentieth session: New York, September 21
- International Telecommunication Union, Plenipotentiary Conference: Montreux, September 14 - November 12
- Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council: Kingston, Jamaica, September 22-23
- OECD Science Ministers' Meeting: Paris, September 23-24
- Fourth Meeting of the Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee: Ottawa, September 23-24
- International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Finance Corporation, International Development Association, and annual meeting of Governors: Washington, September 27 - October 1
- FAO biennial conference: Rome, November-December
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Karachi, November 15 - December 2
- OECD Ministerial Meeting: Paris, November 25-26

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mrs. M. A. Corbet appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Officer 5, effective May 6, 1965
- Mr. J. W. Gilbert posted from Ottawa to the Office of the Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, effective May 29, 1965
- Mr. P. Asselin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Lima, effective June 2, 1965
- Mr. C. J. Small posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, to Paris OECD, effective June 4, 1965
- Mr. J. D. Turner posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, to Hanoi, effective June 6, 1965
- Mr. M. Perron posted from Ottawa to Paris, NATO, effective June 6, 1965
- Mr. S. M. Riethman posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, effective June 12, 1965
- Mr. D. H. Tucker appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 14, 1965
- Mr. D. M. Miller posted from the Canadian Embassy, Pretoria to Ottawa, effective June 18, 1965
- Mr. W. L. McFarlane posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, effective June 18, 1965
- Mr. G. C. Foley posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, effective June 20, 1965
- Mr. M. H. Coleman posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, to Ottawa, effective June 22, 1965
- Mr. S. Cloutier posted from the Canadian Embassy, Lisbon to the Canadian Embassy, Yaounde, effective June 25, 1965
- Miss O. Hobbs posted from the Office of the Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, to Ottawa, effective June 25, 1965
- Mr. D. Hamlin posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Leopoldville, effective June 25, 1965
- Mr. J. R. Francis posted from the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta to Ottawa, effective June 26, 1965
- Mr. G. Hampson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Santo Domingo, effective June 26, 1965
- Mr. G. Mathieu posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective June 28, 1965
- Mr. G. Rau posted from the Canadian Embassy, Madrid to Ottawa, effective June 29, 1965
- Mr. G. W. Seymour posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague to Ottawa, effective June 29, 1965
- Mr. A. S. McGill posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo to Ottawa, effective June 29, 1965

- Mr. L. J. McGovern posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tehran, effective June 30, 1965
- Mr. J. F. R. Mitchell posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, effective June 30, 1965
- Dr. C. H. Ault retired from the Department of External Affairs, effective June 30, 1965
- Mr. R. F. Jackson posted from the Canadian Delegation to the ICSC, Saigon, to Ottawa, effective June 30, 1965
- Mr. A. R. Boyd posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels to Ottawa, effective June 30, 1965
- Mr. C. Anstis posted from the Canadian Embassy, Leopoldville, to Ottawa, effective July 1, 1965
- Mr. H. G. Hatheway posted from the Canadian Delegation to the ICSC, Saigon to the Canadian Embassy, Pretoria, effective July 1, 1965
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Pretoria, effective July 1, 1965
- Mr. K. B. Williamson posted from the Canadian Military Mission, Berlin, to Ottawa, effective July 2, 1965
- Mr. J. D. Wild posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Karachi, effective July 3, 1965
- Mr. A. J. Andrew posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, to the Canadian Embassy, Stockholm, effective July 4, 1965
- Mr. J. A. R. Brazeau posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tehran, to the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, effective July 4, 1965
- Mr. G. H. Blouin posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels to the Canadian Embassy, Yaounde, effective July 5, 1965
- Mr. M. R. J. Gwyn posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective July 5, 1965
- Mr. R. M. Tait posted from the Canadian Disarmament Delegation, Geneva, to Ottawa, effective July 5, 1965
- Mr. E. M. Hefner appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective July 5, 1965
- Miss M. M. S. Bisson appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective July 5, 1965
- Mr. A. M. Leith appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective July 5, 1965
- Mr. S. A. Banks, posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective July 5, 1965

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Denmark

Supplementary Convention modifying the Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income signed at Ottawa on September 30, 1955.

Signed at Ottawa November 27, 1964.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Copenhagen
June 25, 1965.

Entered into force June 25, 1965.

Finland

Supplementary Convention modifying the Convention between Canada and the Republic of Finland for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income done at Ottawa March 28, 1959.

Signed at Helsinki December 30, 1964.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Ottawa June 15, 1965.

Entered into force June 15, 1965.

Hungary

Trade Agreement between Canada and the Hungarian People's Republic.

Signed at Ottawa June 11, 1964.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Budapest May 25, 1965.

Entered into force May 25, 1965.

Japan

Convention between Canada and Japan for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

Signed at Tokyo September 5, 1964.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Ottawa April 30, 1965.

Entered into force April 30, 1965.

Netherlands

Supplementary Convention further modifying the Convention between Canada and the Kingdom of the Netherlands for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income signed at Ottawa on April 2, 1957.

Signed at Ottawa February 3, 1965.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at The Hague

June 23, 1965.

Entered into force June 23, 1965.

United States of America

Exchanges of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the loan by the United States of certain Loran-A equipment for use in Canadian Loran-A stations.

Ottawa June 8, 1965.

Entered into force June 8, 1965.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America extending until December 31, 1965, the Agreement of June 14, 1960, for the joint use, operation and maintenance of the Churchill Research Range at Fort Churchill, Manitoba.

Ottawa June 11, 1965.

Entered into force June 11, 1965.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the continued joint use operation and maintenance with effect from January 1, 1966, of the Churchill Research Range at Fort Churchill, Manitoba.

Ottawa June 11, 1965.

Entered into force June 11, 1965.

Multilateral

Geneva Convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick in armed forces in the field of August 12, 1949.

Signed by Canada December 8, 1949.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited May 14, 1965.

Geneva Convention for the amelioration of the condition of wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of armed forces at sea of August 12, 1949.

Signed by Canada December 8, 1949.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited May 14, 1965.

Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war of August 12, 1949.

Signed by Canada December 8, 1949.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited May 14, 1965.

Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war of August 12, 1949.

Signed by Canada December 8, 1949.

Canadian Instrument of Ratification deposited May 14, 1965.

Publication

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 2. Treaty between Canada and the United States of America relating to co-operative development of the water resources of the Columbia River basin. Signed at Washington January 17, 1961. Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Ottawa, September 16, 1964. Entered into force September 16, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 13. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America Relating to the Agreement of March 9, 1959, Concerning the Tariff of Tolls on the St. Lawrence Seaway. Ottawa, June 30, 1964. In force June 30, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 14. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Norway Providing for the Continuation of the Training Programme in Canada for Aircrew Personnel of the Royal Norwegian Air Force. Ottawa, June 30, 1964. Entered into force June 30, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 15. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Denmark Providing for the Continuation of the Training Programme in Canada for Aircrew Personnel of the Royal Danish Air Force. Ottawa, June 30, 1964. Entered into force June 30, 1964.

Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 16. Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America Concerning the Phasing Out of Certain Radar Stations of the Continental Radar Defence System within Canada. Washington, May 25, 1964. Entered into force May 25, 1964.

- Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 17.* Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America relating to the establishment of the Roosevelt Campobello International Park. Signed at Washington January 22, 1964. Entered into force August 14, 1964.
- Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 18.* Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the exchange of information relating to defence science. Bonn August 21 and 28, 1964. Entered into force September 28, 1964.
- Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 19.* Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America regarding the construction, operation and maintenance of a Loran-C Station and a Monitor Control Station in Newfoundland. Ottawa September 16, 1964. Entered into force September 16, 1964.
- Canada Treaty Series 1964 No. 20.* Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America terminating the Notes of December 28, 1962, for the establishment and operation of a command and data acquisition station in Canada to serve an operational meteorological satellite system being established in the United States (NIMBUS). Ottawa February 4, 1964. In force February 4, 1964.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

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*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII, No. 9

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Canada-U.S. Permanent Joint Board on Defence

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

ON AUGUST 17 and 18, 1940, Prime Minister King and President Roosevelt met in Ogdensburg, New York, to consider measures to meet the threat to North America posed by the early triumphs of Nazi Germany in Europe. That historic meeting resulted in the "Ogdensburg Declaration" of August 18, which established the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence. In establishing the PJBD, the Prime Minister and President gave first official recognition to the need for a joint approach to the defence of the North American continent. The principle that the defence of North America is a task which can only be accomplished by the close co-operation of both countries continues to this day to govern the approach of both countries to their joint defence.

Prime Minister Pearson and President Johnson took note of the anniversary in press releases issued concurrently in Ottawa and Washington. The press releases contained the following messages of commendation:

From the Prime Minister —

Throughout its quarter-century of dedicated service, the Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defence has symbolized the spirit of friendly co-operation which characterizes relations between our two countries. Created to meet the requirements of wartime, it has continued to fulfill a valuable role in North American defence. On this, its twenty-fifth anniversary, I congratulate the Board and wish it continued success.

Lester B. Pearson

From the President —

The Canada-United States Permanent Joint Board on Defense has played an invaluable role in developing the close and effective co-operation of Canada and the United States in our common defense. I am confident that it will render equally significant service to the defense of our two countries in the years ahead. On this twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Board, I am happy to extend my congratulations and best wishes.

Lyndon B. Johnson

Also on August 18, ceremonies commemorating the anniversary were held at Ogdensburg, New York, under the joint sponsorship of the Kiwanis Clubs of the Ottawa Valley and upper New York State. At the site of the commemorative plaque erected some years ago addresses were given by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and the Honorable W. Averell Harriman, the President's Ambassador-at-Large. Mr. Martin spoke, in part, as follows:

"The meeting at Ogdensburg which we are today commemorating had two important results. First, it put an end to any thoughts there may have been on either side of the border that we should — or could — continue independently to plan and conduct each our own defence against the threat of the forces which were then ascendant in Europe. We in Canada — caught unprepared, as were most of the Western allies — had committed almost all our slender resources to the battle in Europe, leaving little behind to defend our shores. The United States, caught off guard much the same as we were, was apprehensive that the enemy might obtain a foothold in Canada, thereby posing a direct threat to the North American continent as a whole.

Defence Indivisible

"In these circumstances, we were driven to recognize that our defence was indivisible. The recognition of that principle marks the real significance of the Declaration to which this City of Ogdensburg has lent its name. And it is a principle which — enlarged to conform to the changing configurations of the world in which we live — continues to this day to govern our approach to the problems of defence.

"The second result of the Ogdensburg meeting was the setting up of a Permanent Joint Board on Defence. For many years this was to serve as the main focus for co-operation between our two countries in the realm of defence. If we scan the Ogdensburg Declaration carefully, we find that it has, in fact, only one operative sentence. And that is the sentence which says that 'it has been agreed that a Permanent Joint Board on Defence shall be set up at once by the two countries'. And so, in this unspectacular way, Canada and the United States marked the transition from friendly association to positive alliance.

Events Favour PJBD

"The Permanent Joint Board on Defence has taken its firm place in the institutional pattern of relations between our two countries. There were those, in the early years, who looked upon it as essentially a creature of war, which would not long survive the cessation of hostilities. But events proved them wrong. For, when our two governments decided in 1947 that military co-operation between us would continue, they also decided that, within the framework of that co-operation, there would continue to be an important part for the Board to play. Thus the Board has served to confirm the confidence of the men of Ogdensburg who, from the outset, invested it with the title of permanence.

"Over the past 25 years, the perimeters of defence have changed beyond all recognition. The advantages of dimension and distance have in large measure been eclipsed. The time-scale of any potential attack has been compressed to a fraction of what it once was. The destructive power we are able to unleash has compelled us to abandon the very notion of war except in legitimate defence against aggression. And the cost of effective defence today is such that few countries in the world are able to shoulder it on their own.

Ogdensburg Principles Still Valid

"The changes that have taken place have served, if anything, to confirm the principles to which we subscribed at Ogdensburg. These principles are as valid today as when they were first formulated. If our defence was recognized to be indivisible then, it is surely no less indivisible in the circumstances of the present day. The development of nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them accurately over intercontinental distances has placed North America, for the first time, in the front line. Indeed, there is every likelihood that, in the unthinkable event of war, we should bear the brunt of the first devastating attack.

"Against this new and terrible threat it was already in our common interest to plan our defences jointly. And so, throughout the 1950s, we planned and built the northern radar lines and fighter defences against the threat from the air. It could not have been otherwise. Canada could not have built these costly defences alone. And the United States could not have been defended without them.

Guarantee of Great Power Stability

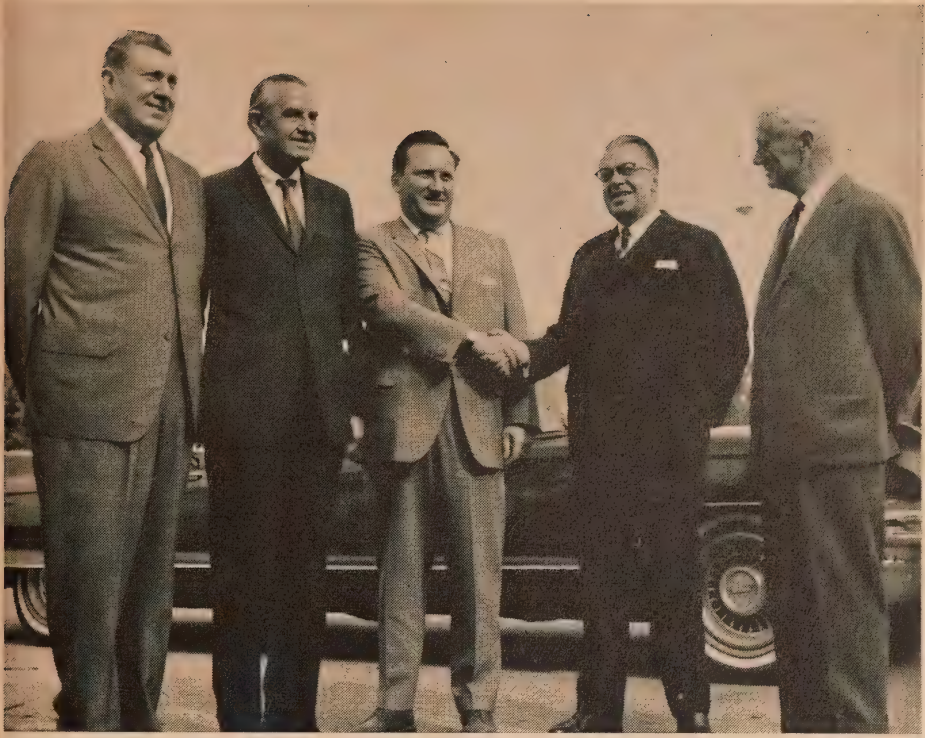
"It was part of this same recognition that our defences could only be conducted in common which led us, in 1957 and 1958, to integrate our air-defence forces in a single command under NORAD. The danger of attack by strategic bombers is now giving way to the even more terrible threat from intercontinental missiles. But whatever the changes in the strategic situation, as long as the threat to the security of North America exists it will clearly remain in our mutual interest to co-operate intimately in the defence of the continent we share. It should be recognized, of course, that in defending North America we are protecting the strategic deterrent of the NATO Alliance. We are thus helping to guarantee that measure of stability between the leading powers which is our best hope for preserving peace until an effective programme of international disarmament can be realized.

"In the final analysis, however, we cannot look at the Ogdensburg Declaration from the perspective of North American defence alone. We must look at it from the perspective of the total relation between our two countries.

"Canadians tend to be preoccupied with that relation. I know that is something which Americans find it difficult to understand. But there is really no parallel in the American experience to compare with the impact of the Canadian-American relation on virtually every sector of our national life.

U.S.-Canada Disparity

"I think there are two aspects of the relation between Canada and the United States which, more than any others, are a cause for Canadian preoccupation. The first is the sheer disparity in power between our two countries. We sometimes like to identify that disparity in terms of population and physical wealth; but that, of course, is only part of the story. The significant fact is not only that the United States is today a great power by any standard but that the impact of power in the modern world tends to be vastly more pervasive than in any previous period of history.



Senior members of the United States and Canadian delegations to the recent celebrations at Ogdensburg, New York, of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Ogdensburg Declaration (left to right): His Excellency W. Walton Butterworth, U.S. Ambassador to Canada; the Honourable W. Averell Harriman, U.S. Ambassador-at-Large; Senator John E. Quinn, New York State; the Honourable Paul Martin, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mr. L. Dana Wilgress, Canadian Co-Chairman of the PIBD.

"Canadians, of course, welcome the fact that the United States enjoys this position of leadership and are not preoccupied by the disparity of power as such. What preoccupies us are the very great effects which that disparity can have on Canadian interests where they diverge from yours.

"The second point of preoccupation for Canadians is the effect of your preponderant influence on the development of Canada as a distinct and separate entity on the North American continent. This preoccupation has, of course, been with us from the days of our founding fathers. It is part of the process of Canadian nation-building. No doubt it has been magnified by the vast range of contacts and exchanges between us which modern communications have made possible.

"But, when all is said and done, the problem of Canadian development is a matter for Canadians to solve. For my own part, I suspect that we are moving steadily closer to solving it. I am confident, in particular, that the great debate over cultural and constitutional matters which is engaging Canadians at this very

moment will serve to strengthen our national purpose and deepen our sense of identity.

Honest Dialogue

"It is inherent in our partnership . . . that we should seek to orient our policies in broadly the same direction. But there are levels of divergence which we should regard as not only permissible but desirable if we are each to play our distinctive part in discharging our international responsibilities. Where there are differences between us, we shall naturally be concerned to minimize their impact on our total relation. But I do not think it is in the tradition of either our countries or in the long-run interest of our partnership that we should be afraid of putting our policies to the test of honest dialogue conducted with restraint and responsibility.

"The conception of partnership is central to our relations. Twenty-five years ago, here at Ogdensburg, a new dimension was added to that partnership. In the intervening years our partnership has broadened beyond the confines of this continent. We are allies in NATO. We are joined in the expanding family of the United Nations. We are engaged together in the great enterprises aimed at achieving world peace and prosperity. On this anniversary occasion we can, I think, affirm confidently that a vigorous and vital partnership will continue to be part of the prospects before us."

Before the ceremonies, Governor Harriman had flown to Ottawa, where he lunched with Prime Minister Pearson and Mr. Martin. This luncheon provided the three statesmen with an opportunity to discuss a wide range of questions of mutual interest to Canada and the United States, and to make a general review of current international problems.

Inter-Parliamentary Union

FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE*

CANADA was host this year to the Fifty-fourth Inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Ottawa from September 8 to 17. Some 700 parliamentarians from the 75 member countries participated. Canada was represented by 36 official delegates, while the other members of the Canadian IPU group, as well as the Diplomatic Corps, were invited to join in the official ceremonies and social activities that were held during the Conference.

Origins and History of IPU

The Union was founded in 1889 at the initiative of Sir William Randal Cremer (Britain) and M. Frédéric Passy (France), when it was decided to hold periodical "inter-parliamentary conferences for international arbitration". By 1894, the movement had developed its own statutes and set up a permanent Secretariat. It then became known officially as the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

As its original name indicates, the Union was the first permanent body ever set up to co-ordinate international relations and to keep a climate of harmony between the various national governments. As such, it was the forerunner of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

In spite of temporary interruptions of its activities during the two World Wars, the Union has continued to exist, each time resuming its work immediately upon the restoration of peace.

Objects

The Union has also constantly reassessed its scope and methods and adapted them to new situations. Of particular significance were the creation of other world bodies and the accession to nationhood of a large number of peoples and territories whose new status as sovereign states has considerably altered the pattern of international political, economic, and social relations. Throughout all these changes, the IPU has maintained a distinctive character, and complements the work of other international organizations. The United Nations, for example, is an association of governments devoted to the study of the most pressing world problems, and capable of taking direct collective action to solve these problems. The IPU, on the other hand, is an association of parliamentarians whose aim is to promote personal contacts between the members of all parliaments and to secure and maintain the full participation of their respective states in the establishment and development of parliamentary institutions, with a view to improving the working

*At the time of publication, the Conference was still in progress; a full report will appear in a subsequent issue.

of these institutions and increasing their prestige. The Union "will also study and seek solutions for all questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action". It can, therefore, be seen that the Union shares the interest of the United Nations and other world organizations in the work of international peace and co-operation.

Structure

The Union is made up of national groups that must be drawn from "parliaments functioning as such within the territory of which they represent the population, in a state recognized as a subject of international law". There are at present 75 such groups in the IPU, each representing a different country. A whole parliament may constitute itself as a national group, but more often the members of the group are recruited on an individual basis.

Canada joined the Inter-Parliamentary Union in 1960. The Canadian group is composed of those Senators and members of Parliament who have formally taken out a membership in the IPU. There are at present more than 200 members in the Canadian group.

The following are the component organs of the Inter-Parliamentary Union:

The Inter-Parliamentary Council, composed of two members from each group, which may create permanent or temporary study committees;

the Executive Committee, composed of 11 members from different groups;

the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau, located in Geneva, which acts as the international secretariat of the IPU;

the International Centre on Parliamentary Research and Documentation (to be created), a service to young countries with new parliaments, and a reference centre for students, scholars and national groups;

the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, which meets, unless otherwise decided, once a year.

The Union has consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and with UNESCO. It also maintains regular contact with the other UN Specialized Agencies and with the various regional inter-parliamentary associations.

IPU Conferences

The Conferences take place each year towards the end of the summer, and normally last for about ten days. They are held in a different capital city each time. Recent Conferences have been held in Vienna, Helsinki, Bangkok, London, Rio de Janeiro, Warsaw, Tokyo, Brussels, Brasilia, Belgrade, and Copenhagen.

Although a country may send as many parliamentary delegates as it wishes, its voting representation is strictly limited according to a system based on the size of national population. Under this system, Canada has at present a quota of 11 voting delegates.

The debates of the Conferences are centred on draft resolutions prepared and

circulated well in advance by five standing study groups appointed by the Council, which meet independently during the year between Conferences.

The agenda for the fifty-fourth Conference are as follows:

- (1) Election of the president and vice-presidents of the Conference.
- (2) General debate.
- (3) The United Nations, Instrument of International Co-operation for Peace and Disarmament.
- (4) New Prospects for International Economic Relations.
- (5) Means of Strengthening the Effectiveness of Parliamentary Institutions.
- (6) The Demographic Problem and the Forthcoming United Nations Conference on World Population.
- (7) Relations between the Inter-Parliamentary Union and UNESCO.
- (8) The Use of Television and Other Modern Technical Media for the Education of Children and Adults in a Spirit of International Peace and Friendship.
- (9) The Problem of *Apartheid* in the Light of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter.
- (10) Election of two members of the Executive Committee.
- (11) Composition of the Inter-Parliamentary Council for the Period from the fifty-fourth to the fifty-fifth Conference.

Since the IPU Conferences are not meetings between representatives of governments but rather between representatives of parliaments, their resolutions are in no way binding on the governments of the countries they represent. Their resolutions do, however, carry considerable weight, for they place a moral obligation on influential groups of law-makers from 75 nations of the world.

*The Pan-American Institute of Geography and History**

EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1965

I WAS VERY pleased to be invited to prepare an article on the eighth General Assembly of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, which was held in Guatemala City from June 25 to July 10 of this year. My reason for welcoming this invitation is that, in our PAIGH activities, we have received a great deal of enthusiastic support from the Department of External Affairs and, in particular, from the Latin American Division. We have also received the wholehearted support of the Canadian Embassy in Mexico City and the office of the Department of Trade and Commerce in Guatemala City; I shall be referring to the participation of representatives from these offices later in this article.

Before reporting on the meeting, it might be timely to give some background information on the PAIGH and Canadian participation in it. Since 1940, Canada had been invited to send observers to the General Assembly meetings and the Congresses of PAIGH, but our participation was spasmodic. It was not until 1961 at the seventh General Assembly, which was held in Buenos Aires in August of that year, that we joined PAIGH and became fully involved in its affairs.

We were represented at the 1961 Assembly by the late Dr. Marc Boyer, Deputy Minister of Mines and Technical Surveys, as chairman of the delegation; Dr. N. I. Nicholson, then Director of the Geographical Branch, as national representative for Canada, as well as our national representative for the Commission of Geography; Dr. K. Lamb, the Dominion Archivist, as national representative for history, and Colonel C. H. Smith, then Director of Military Survey, as national representative for the Cartographic Commission. In addition, Mr. T. J. Blachut of the National Research Council attended as an official delegate. At this meeting Canada was asked to assume responsibility for two committees, the Special Maps Committee of the Cartographic Commission and the Regional and Applied Geography Committee of the Geographical Commission, and we have been particularly active in the former. According to all accounts, Canadian membership was warmly received by the participants in the 1961 General Assembly, and it is apparent that the distinguished group of representatives made many friends among them.

There are a few further remarks that may be of interest concerning our earlier participation. Up to a comparatively few years ago, membership in the PAIGH, which is one of the agencies of the Organization of American States, was open only to republics of the Americas. As a result of the efforts of Dr. Andre Simonpietri,

*By S. G. Gamble, Director, Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, and Chairman of the Canadian National Section of the PAIGH.



The Canadian delegation to the meeting of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Guatemala City, present at the ceremony of the opening of the Exhibits Hall (left to right): Mr. R. A. Smith, Dr. C. H. Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel L. M. Sebert, Mrs. John Nelson, Mr. T. J. Blachut, Colonel C. H. Smith, Mr. S. G. Gamble, Mr. N. G. Gray, Mr. John Nelson.

the articles were changed to make membership available to self-governing countries of the Americas regardless of their form of government. It is regrettable that Canada did not join during his term as Secretary-General but, nevertheless, I am sure that he was gratified to learn of the events of 1961.

Purposes of the Institute

Article 1 of the Organic Statutes of the Institute outlines very distinctly the purposes of the Institute, and I think it worth repeating in full:

Article 1. The Pan-American Institute of Geography and History is a specialized organization of the Organization of American States. Its purposes are to encourage, co-ordinate and publicize cartographic, geographic and historical studies and those dealing with related sciences, and to initiate and execute studies or research assignments of this character requested by the member states. In addition, it is charged with promoting co-operation with American organizations interested in these fields of activity, including specifically co-operation among cartographic, geographic and historical institutes of the member states. No work of political or sectarian nature shall be undertaken.

The Institute is organized into the General Assembly, the Directing Council, the commissions and the General Secretariat. By far the largest and most active commission is that on cartography; the term is used in the more general sense than as used on the northern part of this continent. A review of the committees indicates its breadth of activity. These are:

- Geodesy
- Gravimetry and Earth Tides
- Geomagnetism and Aeronomy
- Topographic Maps and Aerophotogrammetry
- Aeronautical Charts
- Special Maps
- Hydrography
- Seismology
- Tides
- Urban Surveys.

The next most active commission is that on geography, and again it covers quite a scope. Its committees are:

- Land Use
- Natural Resources
- Geomorphology
- Popular Studies
- Urban Geography
- Climatology
- Regional and Applied Geography
- Oceanography
- Geographical Terms
- Teaching and Texts
- Exchange of Professors and Students.

The History Commission covers a much wider range of activities than one might imagine, though up to this time the emphasis on history would seem to be centred on Latin America and there has not been too much interest in the history of the U.S.A. and Canada. Its committees are as follows:

- Archives
- Anthropology
- Bibliography
- Folklore
- History of Ideas
- Origins of the Emancipation Movement
- Programme of History of America and
- Revision of Taxes.

Canadian Delegates

Canadian participation in the eighth General Assembly was at about the same

level as at the 1961 meeting. Dr. W. E. van Steenburgh, Deputy Minister of Mines and Technical Surveys, was chairman of the Canadian delegation. For the Cartographic Commission, official delegates, including myself, were: Lieutenant-Colonel L. M. Sebert of the Directorate of Operational Services and Survey and Chairman of the Special Maps Committee; Mr. T. J. Blachut, Head of the Photogrammetric Section, Division of Applied Physics, NRC; Mr. N. G. Gray, Dominion Hydrographer of our Marine Sciences Branch. Dr. C. H. Smith of the Geological Survey was our representative on the Committee on Geophysical Sciences.

Because the meeting of the Canadian Historical Society was being held in Toronto at the same time and Dr. K. Lamb is president of that Society, it was not possible for him to attend the Guatemala meetings, and in his stead Mr. F. T. Thorpe, Chief Historian of the National Museum, was appointed to represent Canada. This was a most fortunate choice, as Mr. Thorpe has a good working knowledge of Spanish and, because of his association with the other disciplines located in the National Museum, he could take an active part in most of the technical discussions of the Commission for History. Also, Dr. J. D. Ives, Director of our Geographical Branch and newly-appointed representative for the Geographic Commission, could not attend and so Professor Harold Wood of the Geography Department of McMaster University agreed to represent Canada on this Commission. He also proved to be an excellent choice, as he was currently engaged in a survey of transportation information in Latin America and knew many of the delegates. Together, Mr. Thorpe and Dr. Wood have provided me with very useful reports on the progress and problems of their commissions, with recommendations for future participation by Canada in their areas of interest.

In addition to the foregoing, other Canadian delegates were: Mr. John Nelson, Commercial Secretary for Central America, whose office is in Guatemala City; Mr. Dwight Fulford, First Secretary of the Canadian Embassy in Mexico City, who was generously lent to our delegation by Mr. Feaver for this meeting; and Mr. R. E. Smith of the Canadian Exhibition Commission. All these gentlemen proved most helpful. Mr. Nelson placed the facilities of his office completely at our disposal, and was most active in looking after accommodation, entertainment, displays and many other things, thus relieving the Canadian representatives of administrative worries so they could devote their full attention to the meetings.

The Canadian group was reinforced by several observers, including: Colonel C. H. Smith, who had previously been the Canadian representative for cartography; Professor Paul Bouchard, Professor of History, Laval University; Professor Grenier, Professor of Geography, Laval University; Professor Denise, Professor of Geography at the University of Montreal; and Mr. Wilkinson of Lockwood Associates, formerly Hunting Survey Corporation Ltd. of Toronto.

Locale and Attendance

The opening and closing sessions and all the meetings of the Cartographic and Geographical Commissions took place at the School of Engineering of the Uni-

versity of Don Carlos. This is located on high ground about four miles from the centre of the city on the fringe of the suburbs. The buildings are all quite new and, in fact, construction is still in progress and plenty of ground has been provided for expansion. The University is well equipped with auditoria and, of course, plenty of lecture rooms, which were used for the technical meetings of the various committees of the Geography and Cartography Commissions as well as the Special Committee on Geophysical Sciences. The History Commission held its meetings in Antigua, the old capital of Guatemala, about 40 miles distant. A number of us attended the opening ceremony, which was held in the former buildings of the Universidad de San Carlos de Borromeo.

The registered attendance at the Congress numbered approximately 500, the majority of whom were there for the opening ceremony and the technical committee sessions the following week. By the beginning of the last week of the conference, however, the number had decreased to about 300, since from then on it was primarily a matter of studying administrative problems and reviewing solutions. In fact, about half the Canadians left for home early in the last week of the conference.

Almost all the visitors stayed in the better hotels and motels in the city. The official Canadian delegates were quartered in the Guatemala Biltmore, which proved to be a good choice. Though a couple of miles from the shopping centre, it is convenient to the airport, has a number of small shops on the main floor and a very good swimming-pool, and serves excellent food at moderate prices. Most of the members of the Diplomatic Corps live in the same area.

The normal time of meetings was from 9 a.m. to 11 a.m., 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., 3 p.m. to 5 p.m., 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. Bus transportation was provided from the various hotels to the University and back, to coincide with the start and completion of these two-hour sessions. Those attending the History Commission meetings left in the morning about 8 o'clock and returned the same evening, and I gather they found the week of travel through the mountains to Antigua rather tiring.

Before going to Guatemala, we had been warned that the meeting came during the rainy season. For the first ten days, we could almost count on having rain sometime during the day, but by the second half of the meeting we had entered the period corresponding to our "dog days", and, though it was quite warm, the skies were clear. The weather in this country of "eternal spring" is extremely pleasant. The elevation of Guatemala City is about 5,000 feet above sea level. It is seldom uncomfortably hot, despite the fact that the sun is almost immediately overhead at noon, and I gather there is little requirement for air-conditioning.

In addition to technical meetings there were a number of displays of equipment and maps. Fortunately, we had diverted two very fine displays to Guatemala City following their use at other international meetings. One, on the Upper Mantle project, previously shown in India, was brought back to Canada, refurbished and dispatched to Guatemala. This proved to be by far the most impressive display

at the meeting and neatly covered one of the walls of the library. The exhibit was officially opened between this display and the other Canadian display, which was located in the centre of the hall. The second one was on the "aerodist" method of extending survey control as used by the Surveys and Mapping Branch in Northern Canada, and had been shown at the *Fédération internationale des Géomètres* meeting in Rome in June. All captions were in three languages for Rome — that is, French, Italian and English — and Mr. Smith merely overlaid the Italian with Spanish titles when it arrived in Guatemala. For the Upper Mantle project, a special brochure in Spanish was produced, explaining the various features of this remarkable geological exhibit, which can be seen in Ottawa this September.

We were greatly honoured in having Dr. W. E. van Steenburgh elected first vice-president for the Assembly. It is difficult to say what contributed to the good reception the Canadian delegation received, but we are probably still considered newcomers and in mid-January of this year Canada sponsored a meeting of the Special Maps Committee which was attended by a number of prominent geographers and cartographers from Latin America. Certainly, General Nano, president of the Cartographic Commission, when giving his report, spoke in glowing terms about the work of Colonel Sebert's committee and, in particular, about the Ottawa meeting.

There seemed to be a spirit of optimism among the delegates. Several very progressive resolutions were passed at the 1965 Assembly that should lead to better technical meetings and improve communications of member states between meetings. The committees of the Geography Commission are being reorganized to meet current conditions, and, largely upon the representations of Canada, a study is to be made of the committees of the Cartographic Commission and the Special Committee on Geophysical Sciences to see how the various disciplines can best be grouped and at the same time hold the committees to a workable number. Also, the Canadian proposal for a study of the articles of the Institute was accepted, and Canada is one of the four countries charged with preparing a new draft of the Organic Statutes for the meetings of the Directing Council in July of 1966.

If there was a weakness in the meetings it was that too much time seemed to be spent on official openings and closings and matters of protocol. It is hoped that in future a larger proportion of the time will be spent on technical matters.

The social programme arranged by our hosts included a reception and dinner by the Government of the Republic of Guatemala on the opening day, a visit to Tical, a special concert by the National Symphonic Orchestra, a trip to Lake Atitlan, a special performance of the Guatemalan Ballet, a special performance of the Theatre of Art of the University and two other receptions by departments of the Government. In addition, a number of delegations sponsored receptions and, though we attempted to have the Canadian reception on the first of July, the only free date was the seventh. Almost 300 attended our reception and many remained well beyond the designated time. This was partially because Mr. Nelson

was able to find a good pianist for us and because we had prepared a skit, a sort of parody on committee meetings, the scene being an Indian council meeting in northern Canada in pre-Hispanic times and performed in Spanish and English. In any event, we received many compliments for our party and our particular type of humour seemed to be appreciated. One of our masterpieces was a multilingual song about the PAIGH to the tune of *Alouette*.

The Government of Guatemala and its PAIGH representative engineer, Alfredo Obiols Gomez, did a wonderful job of organizing the 1965 General Assembly, and the success is all the more remarkable as this is the first time a large international meeting has been held in a Central American country. In Engineer Obiols we have another competent president and I am sure he will prove a worthy successor to General Hosking of the Argentine. Dr. Arch Gerlach, geographer of the U.S. National Library of Congress, was unanimously elected first vice-president of the PAIGH. For several years he has been United States representative and he has been invited to address the Canadian Institute of Surveying at its annual meeting in January. Dr. Gerlach will be primarily responsible for organizing the ninth General Assembly, which is to be held in Washington in the summer of 1969.

Increased participation in the PAIGH by Canada would be welcomed by our Latin American friends, and it would seem that we should organize a well-balanced team to represent Canada. We should take to the Washington meeting a modest number of carefully selected technical papers, have suitable displays prepared well in advance and at least the majority of our representatives should have a working knowledge of Spanish.

The important parts of Article 1 of the Organic Statutes are that no work of a political or sectarian nature shall be undertaken and that its purpose is to promote cartographic, geographical and historical studies. It is my impression that it is living up to these objectives and given time and encouragement, the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History will become increasingly valuable to member states.

The United Nations Role in Keeping the Peace

The controversy over the financing of peace keeping is one of the most difficult issues which the United Nations has had to face. In an attempt to pave the way for a solution to the problem, the nineteenth session of the General Assembly last February passed a resolution creating a special committee of 33 member states, including Canada, with a mandate to look into constitutional, financial and other aspects of peace keeping, and to report back to the Assembly. Though the committee had not succeeded in finding an acceptable basis for solving the issue, it did report on September 1 to the reconvened nineteenth session a consensus that the twentieth session of the General Assembly must be allowed to proceed normally with its business.

The following statement was made on August 20, 1965, at the sixteenth meeting in New York of the United Nations Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations by Mr. Paul Tremblay, the representative of Canada:

It was Canada's hope when this Committee met in April that its discussions would run parallel with negotiations behind the scenes to find a solution to the problem of the indebtedness of the United Nations arising from certain peace-keeping operations. It was also our expectation that negotiations to clear up this indebtedness would be linked with the working out of satisfactory arrangements for the authorization and financing of future peace-keeping operations. In the intervening months, it became clear that events would not move as rapidly as we had hoped nor would the negotiations cover as wide an area as we thought desirable. On June 21, therefore, Canada along with the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland, announced voluntary and unconditional pledges to help the United Nations out of its present financial difficulties. Canada pledged \$4 million. More recently, Jamaica has also made a generous contribution. The Secretary of State for External Affairs said on June 21:

The Canadian Government pledge is made without prejudice to our support of the principle of collective financial responsibility for duly authorized peace-keeping operations.

He also said:

The time has come for as many states as possible to make a joint effort to restore the solvency of the United Nations to create conditions which will make it possible for the Assembly to meet normally next September, and to preserve the capacity of the United Nations to continue to perform its essential functions in the maintenance of international peace and security.

May I say, Mr. Chairman, that Canada's hope that as many states as possible will join in this voluntary effort has been reinforced by the statements made by the representatives of three of the permanent members of the Security Council at our last meeting. In particular, I should like to pay tribute to the most significant statement of my distinguished colleague from the U.S.A., Mr. Goldberg, on his first formal appearance before an official organ of the General Assembly.

Pledging Conference Proposed

The success of the voluntary campaign to relieve the organization's indebtedness is dependent on the support of all member states. In the light of Ambassador Goldberg's exposition of the U.S. position, the way should now be clear for such support to be forthcoming. We believe, therefore, that an appeal for funds should be launched as soon as possible. In order to dramatize the appeal, might it not be desirable to organize one, or possibly two, pledging conferences to be held, perhaps, in September or October? This would not, of course, preclude member states from announcing their contributions prior to the convening of the first pledging conference. The pledging conference, however, has proved its effectiveness as a means of raising funds for United Nations purposes and I believe it might do so again. I suggest that, if the General Assembly were to convene such a pledging conference, it would concentrate the attention of all member states on making generous contributions within a reasonable period of time and thereby contribute most effectively to the attempt to overcome the United Nations financial problem.

Canada has taken the position that we will not insist on the application of Article 19 in respect of the decision of the General Assembly in assessing contributions for UNEF and ONUC. I wish to emphasize, however, that we take this view without prejudice to the future application of Article 19 in respect of items in the regular budget. Indeed, I would urge that all governments assert their intention to maintain the integrity of the regular budget. Furthermore, while acknowledging that the need to restore the solvency of the organization is the most pressing issue, nevertheless my Delegation would consider the financial problem of the United Nations only partly resolved if an effective means, acceptable to all member states, were not to be found for paying the interest and amortization charges on the bond issue.

Financing UNEF

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I should like to make it clear that the present situation has not affected our view that collective financial responsibility continues to be the best system for financing peace-keeping operations and that UNEF in particular should continue to be financed on this basis. I would hope it can be generally agreed that the future financing of UNEF deserves special and urgent study, on the basis that the Force is performing a vital task in the interest of maintaining peace and security and that therefore all member nations have the moral obligation at least to share the costs involved. If this were agreed, it would not be difficult also to agree that the financing of UNEF should be accomplished in a manner that does not involve Article 19. It may be, of course, that some will dispute this assumption and assert that the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East is not a matter of collective interest and responsibility. In our view, this latter thesis carries with it a totally unacceptable risk of a conflagration which could engulf us all, and for this reason we do not believe that it will command general

support. If it did, then the rationale for the maintenance of the Force would thereby be seriously challenged.

I say this because we have maintained for many years and have acted in the belief that peace keeping is a collective responsibility. We have now agreed that a relevant article of the Charter should not be raised in respect of certain governments which have not accepted what we have regarded as financial commitments. We shall support any agreed scheme for voluntary payments to settle the indebtedness of the United Nations. But if, as a consequence, the financial burden of UNEF had to be shouldered increasingly by a small number of member states while others continued to contribute nothing, we would indeed have cause for grave concern.

Guidelines for Peace Keeping

Let me turn now to the question of guidelines for the future of United Nations peace keeping. Canada welcomes, and on the whole agrees with, the guidelines prepared by the Secretary-General and the President. There are three broad principles, however, that we would like to emphasize above others. *First*, we believe that apportionment of peace-keeping expenses amongst all the members of the United Nations, taking into account the principles already agreed on by the fourth special session of the General Assembly, should be the preferred method of financing peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council. Alternative methods would remain open for recommendations by the Council if, after examination, the method of collective assessment were not acceptable. If the recommendation were in favour of collective or selective assessment, the Assembly would apportion costs. *Second*, all proposals to initiate peace-keeping operations involving the use of military forces would be considered first in the Security Council. If the Council were unable to act, the General Assembly would have the right to discuss the matter and to make recommendations, either to the Council or to member states. *Third*, the Secretary-General must remain in a position to administer peace-keeping operations, subject as required to periodic review by the Council, unless and until there is agreement that some other body such as the Military Staff Committee should perform this function.

*United Nations Economic and Social Council**

The thirty-ninth session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council was held in Geneva from June 30 to July 31, 1965. The Canadian delegation was led by Mr. Saul Rae, Canadian Ambassador to the European Office of the United Nations. The alternate delegates were Mr. Marvin Gelber, Member of Parliament, and Mr. Jean Coté, Counsellor at the Canadian High Commission in London. In his final statement the President summed up the many accomplishments of the Council as follows:

. . . The first and foremost items on the credit side of this session which is ending are the inspiration and guidance which the Council submits in a multitude of spheres for the consideration of governments which desire to have national policies in tune with the requirements of the modern world.

In the field of human rights, which — as the late Adlai Stevenson said only a few days ago — are at the very heart of all we are doing and all we are trying to do, resolutions have been adopted which are bound to have far-reaching consequences. I refer particularly to the decision to authorize the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to undertake a special study of racial discrimination in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres. Other important decisions of the Council in this field which should not be overlooked include the decision to prolong the mandate of the special rapporteur on slavery, and the resolutions on the status of women in the political, economic, social and legal fields. Further, such drafts as those of the declaration on the elimination of discrimination against women and the convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance should encourage at the national level activities and progress which will call for increasing attention by the Council in the years to come.

Land Reform

Another strategic field in which the discussions of the Council at its thirty-ninth session should influence the implementation of national policies is that of land reform. A large number of countries are faced with the task of having to modernize their agrarian structure. The importance of land reform as a fundamental factor in economic development and social progress is now taken into account by planners and recognized by legislatures, as is clear from the legislative measures which have been taken in several countries during the past years. Governments are now turning their attention to the implementation of these measures and to the appraisal of results achieved so far. It is these aspects of the matter — and not the merits of agrarian reform — on which the Council has concentrated its discussions, on the basis of a fourth report, which is more analytical and critical than previous

**See also P. 347 of the August 1965 issue of "External Affairs".*

ones. The resolution we have finally adopted indicates very clearly the problems which should be of major concern and which call for accelerated efforts to ensure their solution. The World Land Reform Conference to be held in Rome next year under the auspices of the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization, in co-operation with the International Labour Organization, will certainly be of major importance in indicating where progress can be achieved in land structure, and I do not think it is too optimistic to hope that, when the Council considers this problem again in 1968, it may face a more satisfactory situation than that which exists now.

Science and Technology

In its efforts to provide inspiration and guidance to those responsible for formulating and implementing national policies, the Council has not confined itself to adopting recommendations. It has also been concerned with the organization of activities to determine the main lines for an assessment of the knowledge and experience of each country. One example of this is the development of the situation regarding science and technology. Two years ago, the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Developing Countries drew the attention of the international community to the challenge which had to be accepted in this field. Can we say today that vigorous action has been taken to justify the statement that the Conference was an important turning-point in the Development Decade? Or have the hopes aroused been disappointed? As a result of the intensive, rapid and objective work by our new Advisory Committee — as described in its second report — we can answer “yes” to the first of these questions. A world programme of international co-operation is now taking shape in this strategic field. As is shown by the work already being done on water desalination, this programme may contain the elements for concerted action on research and application problems which may open up new vistas for the developing countries. It may also contain the prerequisites for a more extensive co-operation between nations, leading to the establishment of an infrastructure which will in particular help to increase the number and improve the quality of trained scientific and technical staff. Lastly, this programme may include the seeds of a greater capacity to overcome the various obstacles in the way of propagating scientific and technical knowledge. By endorsing the view of the architects of this programme, the Council has shown its belief that it is really important for the Advisory Committee to have sufficient resources to continue its activities.

Industrial Development

In the complex sphere of industrial development, the Council devoted a large part of its discussions to questions such as the establishment of exporting industries in the countries of the Third World, industrialization integrated on a regional or sub-regional basis, the multiplication of industrial-development bodies, and the like; it gave particular attention to the organization of an international seminar to be preceded by regional seminars. This project was intended to allow every country

engaged in the heroic adventure of industrialization to perceive more clearly the elements of an effective doctrine adapted to the peculiarities of their situation and their philosophy by benefiting from the trials, experiments and experience of their nations.

With regard to the financing of economic development, the Council learned with satisfaction during the spring session from the Directors of the International Bank and of the Monetary Fund the important developments brought about by the increase in the quota of the Fund's members and in the Bank's activities. With regard to the movement of capital, as illustrated in the studies prepared by the Secretariat, the Council has recommended to governments not only to do all in their power to bring about once again an advance such as was noted at the beginning of the Decade with respect to the volume of the financial means placed at the disposal of the Third World but also to grant more favourable rates of interest and loan conditions to countries already heavily in debt. At the same time, the Council encouraged the Secretary-General to continue work on the methodological and conceptual problems of measuring the movement of capital, so as to give us a better knowledge of their qualitative and quantitative aspects.

Trade and Social Questions

As regards international trade, it is interesting to note that, though the Council abstained from discussing problems which are on the agenda of the Board of Trade and Development, reference was, nevertheless, made on several occasions to the recommendations of the Conference on Trade and Development and to the decisions of the Assembly thereon. I do not think I am wrong in foreseeing that, when the Council receives the report of the Board of Trade and Development, it will examine it with the greatest interest.

In social as in economic affairs, the decisions of the Council combine the desire to guide governments and the desire to encourage programmes intended to assist their action. In the Social Committee there was a discussion, which should be made widely known, on the problems caused by population growth, the changes in population structure, and — a problem inadequately analyzed today, the increasing gravity of which was stressed by the Secretary-General — the problem of migration from country areas to the cities. Not only has the Council drawn the attention of governments to this problem, but it has adopted a long-term programme of studies and activities in the various sectors of that vast problem of population spread, and has also requested the Secretary-General to provide technical assistance to those countries which request it in order to give effect to national population policies. Moreover, the Council has submitted to governments recommendations, originating in the Social Committee, on the welfare of women and children and the training of social-services staff. It calls on planners to improve their techniques with regard to the social sectors in all development plans. In accordance with the idea expressed by the Secretary-General that youth must soon consider that a civil service for the benefit of those in a less fortunate position must

constitute a normal part of its education, it has stressed the place and the role of the young in development and has sketched a programme of action. It shows the importance of the problem of income distribution, and decides to study, with the help of an expert group, the relations between income distribution and social policy.

During the session which is drawing to a close, the Council has also devoted much effort to promoting international co-operation and the machinery by which it can be reinforced. It has eloquently reaffirmed the objectives of the Decade, both regarding what governments are invited to do in various ways and regarding the pledges of goodwill in multilateral co-operation which they have been asked to give. Pending disarmament, the possible economic and social consequences of which are always present in our minds, as the debates have shown, the response to the new target of \$200 million which has been proposed to governments interested in the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance should constitute a test of that goodwill.

Special Fund Developments

At this fifteenth anniversary of our Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, we have been able to take a comprehensive view of the activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies under the Programme, and I believe that the Council has every reason, in the light of the results, to congratulate itself on the movement which it initiated in 1949. The principles of Council Resolution 222 (IX) are still valid, and during those 15 years nearly half a billion dollars had been invested in the Programme. Since 1958, the Special Fund has brought a new dimension into the operations of the United Nations. The growing diversity of its pre-investment activities under its terms of reference, the special interest which it shows in intensifying efforts in industrial development, its constant concern to do everything in its power to promote the application of science and technology to development in the execution of projects for which its help has been requested — all these give the Special Fund the privileged standing, in the sphere of multilateral aid, of an important element in the total resources which the international community places at the service of the Third World. Last year the Council decided in favour of the merger of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance in a single United Nations development programme. It is now for the General Assembly to endorse this proposal, which is aimed at providing our organization with a structure to enable it to discharge more effectively the major role which it has to play in the development of multilateral aid.

World Food Programme

Among the more important recommendations which have resulted from the Council's discussions this year, mention should also be made of the recommendation relating to the World Food Programme established under the joint auspices of the

United Nations and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. The experimental period for the programme will be coming to an end on December 31 next; and, in step with the recommendations made by the inter-governmental committee on the programme, the Council has advocated that it should be continued on a permanent basis and that the target for voluntary contributions over the period 1966-68 should be fixed at \$275 million, a third of the contributions to be made in currency and services and two-thirds in foodstuffs. In my view, this original programme, which places foodstuffs at the service of urgent assistance and development, should be regarded as an important component in the structure of multilateral assistance to the Third World which we are building.

The Council has also stressed the need for a sustained and generous international co-operation to provide or maintain the impetus of undertakings whose usefulness and justification are recognized by every government, and (I am almost tempted to say) by every individual who comes to study them. The Council has unanimously decided that the budgetary resources allocated to the United Nations activities in industrial development should be increased as these activities expand, and it has welcomed favourably a constructive proposal for additional financing on a voluntary basis. The increase in the number and complexity of the tasks of the High Commissioner for Refugees following their extension to the African continent, and the magnitude of the tasks and financial requirements appropriate to the responsibilities which M. Labouisse has inherited from the late Maurice Paté, have led members of the Council to emphasize, in the meetings they have devoted to the poignant problem of refugees and the United Nations Children's Fund, the need for an increasing flow of resources for these programmes from every quarter.

Many Achievements

Thirdly — and this is by no means the least important point — the session now coming to an end seems to me to have been remarkably fruitful. The actions and the recommendations of the Council demonstrate its firm resolve to improve the efficiency of the very apparatus of international co-operation. In most of the fields which it has been called upon to study, it has devoted a lot of time and attention to questions of structure, method and organization. In social affairs, the Council has approved the request by its Social Committee that the latter's role should be re-examined in the light of new requirements. In the discussions on industrial development, there have been further references to institutional reform. In the Co-ordination Committee, attention has been given to some down-to-earth problems which everyone regards as being of major importance, namely problems which have to be solved to produce a better harmonization between activities and resources, programmes and budgets, to provide the Council with documents which are available earlier and are easier to use, to improve the distribution of United Nations reports and studies in the economic and social fields — problems which have all found expression in resolutions the execution of which should considerably improve the efficiency of the Council's work at future sessions. . . .

But no one will deny that the most remarkable efforts made by the Council at its present session on the problem of organization of work have been related to the need to combine the activities of the various agencies of the United Nations family more and more closely in a common strategy. Both the interim report submitted in accordance with Council Resolution 984 I (XXXVI) on the United Nations Development Decade and the resolution adopted as a result of the discussions of this report have stressed the notion of concerted action and also the desire which all of us, I believe, must share to see the efforts of each organization as the integral part of a whole whose value is much greater than that of the sum of its components. . . .

The Council has also done very useful work, I think, in taking steps to improve co-ordination in various fields, particularly in science and technology, and in providing assistance in the case of natural disasters. Finally, it seems to me difficult to underestimate the scope of what has been said during this session on evaluating the overall effect of the programmes of technical co-operation of the United Nations family. The importance of evaluating the results of our operational activities was first underlined by the Secretary-General when he expressed the view that such a discipline might be considered a necessary and integral part of our activities. It was also stressed subsequently by the representatives of both the developed and developing countries, as well as by the speakers for the Specialized Agencies. All this clearly shows that one of the main preoccupations of the Council is the wish to see the modest and limited resources put at the disposition of the United Nations family utilized in the most rational and effective way through a continuous striving for improvement in this direction.

I wish, finally, to note the value attached, and the emphasis, perhaps greater this year than in the past, given to the Council's discussions on economic development by the records of the activities of the regional commissions, whose dynamism is one of the essential elements of our organization's vitality in the economic and social fields.

It is obvious that this year the members of the Council and the other members of the sessional committees have shown renewed interest in the work of the Council. The decisions, recommendations and initiatives, both numerous and varied, which I have just passed in review — all of them of a constructive character — are proof of this. I venture to hope that, once the amendments to the Charter have been ratified, the Council, with a more equitable geographical representation, will experience a renewal of activity and a new advance, the beginnings of which I think I have already noted in the results of this session. Thus, in pursuing this essential and gigantic task of promoting the advancement of humanity, to which the Council has dedicated itself, perhaps its members will display an even greater degree of energy, inspired by the spirit of the unity of mankind, by the need for harmony among nations, and by the knowledge that, without a fruitful co-operation to achieve a common ideal of social justice, it would be vain to expect true prosperity and a lasting peace. . . .

FIRST TANZANIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER



His Excellency J. W. Malecela, the first High Commissioner of Tanzania to be accredited to Canada, presented his credentials to the Governor General in Ottawa on July 13, 1965. Mr. Malecela will reside in New York, where he is his Government's Permanent Representative to the United Nations. In the photograph above, Mr. Malecela is shown in conversation with Governor-General Georges P. Vanier following the presentation of his Letter of Commission.

Singapore Withdraws from Malaysia

ON AUGUST 7, the Governments of Malaysia and Singapore concluded an agreement for the separation of Singapore from Malaysia and the establishment of Singapore on August 9 as an independent and sovereign state. A bill was passed by the Malaysian Parliament on August 9 to amend the Malaysian constitution allow the separation to occur, and, on the same day, proclamations of Singapore's separation and independence were issued by the Malaysian and Singapore Governments.

On August 11, Prime Minister Pearson sent the following message to the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, offering Canadian recognition of Singapore's independence:

I have been sorry to learn that it has been found necessary to alter the scope of the Federation of Malaysia by the separation of Singapore from the Federation.

Canada welcomed Singapore's federation with Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak in Malaysia, believing that the larger federation would offer the best opportunity for the prosperity and progress of the peoples of these areas.

The Canadian Government, however, naturally accepts fully the decision taken by the Malaysian and Singapore Governments and recognizes Singapore as now constituting an independent and sovereign state.

I am pleased to learn that close relations in economic, defence and other fields will continue between Singapore and Malaysia.

As you are aware, the Canadian Government has offered its fullest co-operation to Malaysia and has sought to contribute to the economic development and peace and stability of Malaysia and of its constituent states. You can be assured that we will have the same sympathy and understanding for the peoples of Singapore now as we had before.

May I offer you and your colleagues in the Singapore Government my warmest regards and best wishes for the future?

L. B. Pearson

KUWAITI AMBASSADOR INSTALLED



An exchange of diplomatic representatives recently marked the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Kuwait and Canada. His Excellency Talaat Yacob Al-Ghussein presented his credentials as first Ambassador of Kuwait to Governor-General Georges P. Vanier at Rideau Hall on July 16 (see photograph above). The Kuwaiti envoy, who is also Ambassador to the United States, will continue to reside in Washington, D.C., and will be making regular visits to Canada. The first Canadian Ambassador to Kuwait is Mr. Paul Malone, who presented his letters to His Highness the Amir of Kuwait on April 27. Mr. Malone remains concurrently accredited to Iran and Iraq with residence in Tehran.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- UNCTAD, second session of the Trade and Development Board: Geneva, August 24 - September 14
- World Population Conference: Belgrade, August 30 - September 10
- UN General Assembly, resumed nineteenth session: New York, September 1
- Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), 4th session: Paris, September 15-29
- International Atomic Energy Agency, ninth General Conference: Tokyo, September 21-30
- UN Sugar Conference: Geneva, September 20
- UN General Assembly, twentieth session: New York, September 21
- International Telecommunication Union, Plenipotentiary Conference: Montreux, September 14 - November 12
- Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council: Kingston, Jamaica, September 22-23
- OECD Science Ministers' Meeting: Paris, September 23-24
- International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Finance Corporation, International Development Association, and annual meeting of Governors: Washington, September 27 - October 1
- FAO biennial conference: Rome, November-December
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Karachi, November 15 - December 2
- OECD Ministerial Meeting: Paris, November 25-26

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND SEPARATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. D. Doherty posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective July 8, 1965.
- Mr. R. D. Gualtieri posted from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to Ottawa, effective July 8, 1965.
- Mr. M. R. Pelletier posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Permanent Mission to the United Nations, Geneva, effective July 8, 1965.
- Mr. C. Chatillon posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective July 9, 1965.
- Mr. J. D. R. Doyon resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective July 9, 1965.
- Mr. T. B. B. Wainman-Wood appointed High Commissioner for Canada, Nicosia, effective July 9, 1965.
- Mr. S. W. Hubble posted from the Office of the Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown to Ottawa, effective July 10, 1965.
- Mr. J. C. Stepler posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective July 14, 1965.
- Mr. J. A. Colvin posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, to Ottawa, effective July 15, 1965.
- Mr. S. Grey posted from Ottawa to the Canadian delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective July 15, 1965.
- Mr. E. H. Woodyard posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Seattle, to Ottawa, effective July 15, 1965.
- Miss J. McPhee posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Vienna, effective July 16, 1965.
- Mr. L. de Salaberry posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective July 17, 1965.
- Mr. W. Cullen posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, effective July 18, 1965.
- Mr. W. M. Lawton resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective July 19, 1965.
- Mr. G. P. Creighton posted from the Canadian Embassy, Santo Domingo, to Ottawa, effective July 20, 1965.
- Mr. J. M. Harrington posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective July 20, 1965.
- Mr. G. B. Bull posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective July 21, 1965.
- Mr. P. Charpentier posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the OECD, Paris, effective July 23, 1965.
- Mr. L. Houzer posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, Geneva, effective July 23, 1965.
- Mr. F. W. O. Morton posted from Ottawa to the Office of the Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, effective July 23, 1965.

- Mr. E. Skrabec posted from Ottawa to the Office of the Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, effective July 23, 1965.
- Mr. R. H. Jay appointed High Commissioner to Kingston, Jamaica, effective July 25, 1965.
- Mr. C. T. Stone posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, Geneva, to Ottawa effective July, 1965.
- Mr. E. G. Lee posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective July 25, 1965.
- Mr. G. R. Harman posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective July 26, 1965.
- Mr. G. Choquette posted from the Canadian Embassy, Lima, to the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, effective July 28, 1965.
- Mr. J. Gignac posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective July 28, 1965.
- Mr. J. C. Wood posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, effective July 28, 1965.
- Mr. J. L. L. M. Krupka appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 3, 1965.
- Mr. J. A. Malone appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 3, 1965.
- Mr. A. D. Bryce posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective August 4, 1965.
- Mr. E. S. Tate posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective August 4, 1965.
- Mr. R. Duffy posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective August 5, 1965.
- Mr. J. A. M. Vennat appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 5, 1965.
- Mr. G. G. J. D. Buick posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, to Ottawa, effective August 7, 1965.
- Mr. P. A. Howard posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective August 10, 1965.
- Mr. A. B. Bonnezen posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective August 14, 1965.
- Mr. R. N. Nuttall posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective August 14, 1965.
- Mr. D. B. Wilson posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, to Ottawa, effective August 18, 1965.
- Mr. G. L. Hearn posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, effective August 19, 1965.
- Mr. D. Hicks posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective August 19, 1965.
- Mr. P. F. Walker posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Djakarta, effective August 23, 1965.
- Mr. S. G. M. Woolcombe appointed to the Department of External Affairs, as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 23, 1965.

Mr. K. L. Burke posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective August 24, 1965.

Mr. R. C. Reeves, Foreign Service Officer, deceased August 24, 1965.

Mr. J. M. Blondeau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective August 25, 1965.

Mr. E. P. Black posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective August 31, 1965.

Mr. D. B. Butler posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Hamburg, effective August 31, 1965.

Mr. P. Resnick resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective August 31, 1965.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Jamaica

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Jamaica concerning the training of Jamaican Military Personnel by the Canadian Forces in Canada.

Kingston, July 16, 1965.

Deemed to have entered into force September 9, 1964.

United States of America

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America amending the Annex to the Agreement of October 24, 1962 for the co-ordination and use of radio frequencies above 30 megacycles per second.

Ottawa, June 16 and 24, 1965.

Entered into force June 24, 1965.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the continuing operation in Canada of mobile seismic laboratories until June 30, 1968.

Ottawa, May 18, June 28 and 29, 1965.

Entered into force June 28, 1965.

Multilateral

Convention on facilitation of International Maritime Traffic.

Done at London, April 9, 1965.

Signed by Canada April 9, 1965.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII No. 10

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United Nations General Assembly

TWENTIETH SESSION

The following article is based on a briefing paper prepared for members of the Canadian Delegation attending as observers the twentieth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly:

On September 21, 1965, the 114 member states of the United Nations are expected to gather according to the rules of procedure for the opening of the twentieth regular session of the General Assembly. Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana, the President of last year's session acting as Temporary President, will, after a few remarks, ask the members of the Assembly to rise for a minute of silent prayer or meditation. He will then proceed to appoint the Credentials Committee, which examines the credentials of the delegations.

Under the direction of the Temporary President, the Assembly will elect the President of the twentieth session by secret ballot. The newly-elected President will take his seat on the podium and call the session to order. No presidential candidates have been announced at the time of writing, though the President of last year's session has declared that he is available if his services are desired.

The next step will be the election of the 17 Vice-Presidents, who include, in addition to representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council, seven Vice-Presidents from Afro-Asia, one from Eastern Europe, three from Latin America, two from Western Europe, and others. The regional group having the Assembly President loses one of its vice-presidencies, so that the total number of Vice-Presidents becomes 17. Information at the time of writing indicates that the following are candidates for these positions:

Afro-Asia: Burundi, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Kuwait, Morocco, Sierra Leone, Uganda

Eastern Europe: Poland

Latin America: Chile, Guatemala, Paraguay

Western Europe and Others: New Zealand, Spain.

The Assembly will continue by constituting its main committees, through which it has functioned ever since the first session. The likely or known candidates for the position of chairman are as follows:

First Committee — political and security questions including disarmament (Hungary)

Special Political Committee — shares the work of the First Committee (Japan, Haiti)

Second Committee — economic and financial questions (Belgium)

Third Committee — social, cultural and humanitarian questions (Denmark)

Fourth Committee — colonial and trusteeship questions (Iran, Togo)

Fifth Committee — budgetary and administrative matters (Tunisia, Mexico)

Sixth Committee — legal questions (United Arab Republic, Dahomey).

The Vice-Presidents, the main committee chairmen and the President form the General Committee, whose function is to make recommendations to the Assembly on the adoption of the provisional agenda and the assignment of agenda items to the main committees, and subsequently to supervise and co-ordinate the work of the Assembly.

In addition to the seven main committees, the Assembly has established two standing committees, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Committee on Contributions, as well as a number of other standing subsidiary and special bodies, all of which deal with specific or recurrent problems.

After the Assembly has adopted the agenda, it holds a general debate lasting, normally, about three weeks. During this period, heads of delegation, sometimes prime ministers or ministers of foreign affairs, deliver important policy statements explaining the attitudes of their respective governments on the subjects placed before the Assembly and emphasizing those matters their countries consider to be of the greatest importance.

Toward the beginning of October, the seven main committees meet to elect their vice-chairmen, whose official function is to preside over the committees in the absence of the chairmen, and rapporteurs, who, with the help of the Secretariat, report on the proceedings of the committees to the plenary meetings of the Assembly.

After a committee has concluded its considerations of an agenda item, it recommends a resolution or some other course of action through the medium of the rapporteur's report to a plenary meeting of the Assembly. A plenary meeting is called from time to time to deal with the agenda items assigned to it specifically or to consider the reports of the committee rapporteurs. In practice, very few committee decisions are reversed by a plenary meeting. However, this may happen when the membership is about equally divided on specific issues, since a resolution in Committee needs only a simple majority for adoption, whereas the Charter requires a two-thirds majority in plenary meetings on all matters of importance¹.

Consideration of an agenda item usually begins with a general debate on all facets of the problem, which may last, depending on the item, from a few hours to two or three weeks. During this debate, ideas crystallize, and draft resolutions and amendments to these resolutions are tabled by various delegations and finally voted on. Basically, there are three ways in which a resolution may be adopted: if the presiding officer is convinced that all the member states are in favour of a resolution, he may simply announce that, unless he hears an objection, the resolution will be considered as having been adopted unanimously. If this is not the case, delegations may signify their approval, rejection or abstention by a show-of-hands vote, a procedure under which only the total number of votes in favour,

¹See Article 18 of the Charter.

against or abstaining is recorded. The third method of adopting a resolution is a roll-call vote, where each delegation casts its vote orally and has it recorded in the records of proceedings. Since voting sometimes gives rise to procedural issues, observers will wish to read beforehand the rules of procedure of the Assembly.

Since, in all likelihood, there will be some 100 items on the final agenda of this Assembly, it is not possible to give a detailed background for each one here nor it is possible to indicate with certainty to which committee each will be assigned. The most important items are mentioned below, but the reader should remember that many items have a long history, the complete understanding of which would require many hours of study.

Plenary Items

Elections to Security Council

The United Nations Charter has been amended this year to enlarge the Security Council from 11 to 15 members, to change the Council's voting procedures by raising the number of affirmative votes required for non-procedural matters from seven to nine (without, however, affecting the veto power of the five permanent members — Britain, China, France, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.), and to formalize arrangements for the geographical distribution of the seats. Under these Charter amendments, the Assembly will elect by secret ballot (a two-thirds majority being needed for election) four members for the new seats and three to replace members whose terms of office expire at the end of this year. The following table shows declared candidates for office at the time of writing:

	Seats of Region	Vacancies	Candidates
Afro-Asia	5	3	Japan Mauretania Nigeria Somalia (?) Syria Uganda (?)
Eastern Europe	1	1	Bulgaria
Latin America	2	1	Argentina
Western Europe and Others (including Canada)	2	1	New Zealand

It should be noted that, though there is a total of seven vacancies on the Security Council, an arrangement was made at the nineteenth session whereby one of the seven seats would be pre-empted under a split-term agreement allowing both Jordan and Mali full two-year terms on the Council in the event that the Charter amendment was passed.

A further provision of the amendment is that, in this year's election, two of the four new seats should be for one year and the other two for a full two-year term, in order to ensure that each subsequent year exactly half the non-permanent seats are up for election. It is not clear at the time of writing which candidates will stand for election to the half-terms.

Elections to Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

With the adoption of the Charter amendments, the number of seats on ECOSOC increased from 18 to 27; however, the number of vacancies to be filled is 13, since there are four seats to be vacated this year in addition to the nine newly-created ones. While a fairly set pattern of regional distribution of seats has emerged in the past, the resolution for the enlargement of the Councils only specifies the distribution for the nine new seats, seven going to Afro-Asia, one to Latin America and one to the group comprising Western Europe and others.

The following table shows the vacancies broken down by region, with known or likely candidates (the customary regional allocation of original seats has been combined with the formally specified regional allocation of the nine new seats):

	<u>No. of Seats</u>	<u>No. of Vacancies</u>	<u>Candidates</u>
Great Powers (Britain, France, U.S.A., U.S.S.R.)	4	—	—
Afro-Asia	12	8	Cameroun, India, Iran, Kenya, Libya, Morocco, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania
Latin America	5	2	Jamaica, Venezuela
Western Europe and Others	4	2	Greece, Sweden
Eastern Europe	2	1	Czechoslovakia

The Charter amendment further provides that, at this year's election, three of the nine new seats will be for a full term of three years, three for two years and three for one year. This will ensure that, in future elections each year, one third of the members of ECOSOC are newly elected. The allocation among candidates of these terms of different length remains to be agreed upon.

Chinese Representation

The substantive issue in the question of Chinese representation is whether the Communist Chinese or the Nationalist Chinese should represent China in the United Nations. Some delegations, including those of the Soviet bloc, have argued that the credentials of the representatives of the People's Republic of China should be accepted and those of the representatives of Nationalist China rejected. Others, including the United States, maintain that the essential issue involved is the question of qualifications for United Nations membership and that Communist China lacks these qualifications. The attitudes of other member states vary between these two poles. In 1961 the Assembly decided that Chinese representation was an "important question", which means that any resolution on the substance of the issue requires a two-thirds majority to be adopted. However, the decision on the "important question" issue is considered to be procedural and, since procedural matters are settled by a simple majority, it is possible that the 1961 decision could be reversed.

In 1961, Canada supported the Assembly resolution making any proposal on changes in the representation of China an "important question". Since then, Canada has opposed two resolutions that, in effect, called for the expulsion of Nationalist China and its replacement by the Peking régime. Although Canada is increasingly disturbed by the continued isolation of mainland China, it does not wish to see the people of Formosa deprived of their right to representation in the United Nations. A possible way out of this dilemma would be some type of "one China, one Formosa" solution, but neither Peking nor Taipei is prepared to accept such a solution.

Report of Special Committee of Twenty-Four on Colonialism

The Special Committee of Twenty-Four has the task of supervising the implementation of the Colonial Declaration of December 1960, which proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The Committee meets almost continuously in the interval between Assembly sessions. This year, the Assembly will consider recommendations of the Special Committee on a variety of colonial territories, including Rhodesia, South West Africa, the high-commission territories (Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland), the African territories under Portuguese administration, Aden and Fiji. These territories differ widely in their political and economic development, and each presents special problems. The recommendations of the Special Committee, in the form of draft resolutions recommended for adoption by the Assembly, are generally dealt with in plenary meetings. After a general debate on decolonization, the Assembly will consider one by one the resolutions dealing with individual colonial territories.

International Co-operation Year

As an aftermath of the successful International Geophysical Year, the General Assembly, on the initiative of India, Canada and certain other countries, passed

Resolution 1907(XVIII) designating 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, International Co-operation Year. The purpose was to publicize and to initiate various projects on a national and an international basis in the belief that the wider involvement of peoples in acts of international co-operation would be one effective way of reducing international tensions. Member states, non-governmental organizations, and the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies were called upon to develop plans to implement the aims laid down for ICY. In Canada a non-governmental organization was set up to coordinate the plans and activities of private organizations. The Canadian Government also drew up its own programme for ICY. The United Nations Committee on ICY, which is chaired by the Canadian Permanent Representative, will not submit a report until next year.

First Committee

Although there are no firm rules, agenda items of the First Committee have, in the past, generally been concerned with specific questions of peace and security, with disarmament items and with problems relating to the non-dissemination, testing and control of nuclear weapons. In addition, it has been the custom to discuss the reports of the Special Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

Suspension of Nuclear Tests

A resolution of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly noted with approval the Moscow treaty banning nuclear-weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water; called upon all states to become parties thereto (the records show 112 signatories, exclusive of France and Communist China, as of August 1965); requested the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) to continue its negotiations aimed at the extension of the ban to underground testing; and asked ENDC to report on its efforts to the Assembly. Since little progress can be reported on the suspension of underground testing, in part owing to disagreement on the technical aspects of detection, non-aligned nations may suggest a moratorium on such tests (either complete or with regard to tests above a certain magnitude). On strategic grounds, these suggestions may not be acceptable to the Western nuclear powers, particularly in view of Communist China's two atmospheric test explosions and that country's relation to the test-ban treaty.

Prohibition of Use of Nuclear Weapons

In 1963, the Assembly requested the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to study urgently the question of convening a conference to sign a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and to report on its deliberations. The Committee's report to the Assembly indicated merely that the subject had been discussed at several of its plenary meetings, i.e. that no agreed conclusion had been

reached. It is the Canadian view that the only effective way to ensure that nuclear weapons will never be used is through agreement on a comprehensive and carefully verified system of disarmament, which, *inter alia*, would deal with all aspects of the problem of nuclear weapons.

General and Complete Disarmament

Discussion on the subject of general and complete disarmament is expected to be based on the work of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) and on a resolution passed this spring by the United Nations Disarmament Commission calling for a world conference on disarmament. Because of overwhelming support by the non-aligned nations, it seems probable that such a conference will eventually be held.

In view of the lack of progress by ENDC, which reconvened this summer, Canada does not, in principle, object to such a conference, since it may be useful if adequately prepared for, if detailed negotiations are left to the ENDC and, particularly, if Communist China should attend. It is hoped that the 1961 "Agreed Principles" would serve as ground rules for such a conference and that the primary negotiating role of the ENDC would be safeguarded.

It seems unlikely that preparatory problems, such as the participation of Communist China, the suggested location of the conference or items to appear on its agenda, could be resolved early enough for the conference to convene in 1966. It might be feasible, however, to set up a committee to carry out the preparatory work, in which case serious consideration might be given to entrusting ENDC members, and perhaps a limited number of other countries, with this task. Canada would wish to be represented on this committee.

Outer Space

The outer-space field is one in which Canada has taken a deep interest and in which it has been able to make a contribution, not only on the political side, by sponsoring the resolution in the Assembly with 19 other states that gave rise to the 24-member Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, but also on the technical side, by carrying out its own space-exploration programme, largely in co-operation with the United States.

The task of the Committee, of which Canada has been a member since its inception, is to report on present and potential activities and resources of the United Nations and its associated and subsidiary bodies relating to the peaceful uses of outer space, to investigate the areas of possible international co-operation under United Nations auspices, and to explore the nature of legal problems that might arise in carrying out programmes for the exploration of outer space. Following an abortive beginning, largely due to the unwillingness of the U.S.S.R. to become a member, the Committee was reconstituted in 1961. At present it is functioning through a Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee, a Legal Sub-Committee, and a working group on the desirability of holding an international conference on outer space.

The Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee is not scheduled to meet this year; however, at its meetings in Geneva last year, it noted with satisfaction, among other decisions, the declarations by the United States and the Soviet Union reporting preliminary agreement between scientists of the two countries to begin joint preparations for the publication of a review of achievements and prospects for development of space biology and medicine, and it gave final approval to a number of recommendations dealing with such questions as (a) United Nations sponsorship for the rocket-launching facilities at Thumba, India, and the use of this station as a centre for international co-operation and training, and (b) the advisability of organizing in 1967, under United Nations auspices, an international conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space. These recommendations were endorsed by the parent Committee last year, and are expected to come before the Assembly for consideration this fall.

The major work of the Legal Sub-Committee concerns the drafting of international agreements on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space and, secondly, the assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles. The Sub-Committee is scheduled to meet in September to submit proposals to the parent Committee, which will probably meet in October.

Lastly, the working group on an international conference on outer space is to meet early in September to advise the parent Committee on the desirability, organization and objectives of such a conference in 1967.

Special Political Committee

The Special Political Committee shares with the First Committee the discussion of political and security questions. It has dealt regularly with the *apartheid* item and the United Nations Works and Relief Agency for Palestine Refugees and, occasionally, with the item on the effects of atomic radiation. It is possible that peace keeping will also be discussed by this Committee.

Apartheid

The *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa are deplored and condemned by almost all members of the Assembly. There is, however, a wide divergence of views on the best means of bringing pressure to bear on South Africa to change its policies. Many members from Africa and Asia would like to impose economic and other sanctions against South Africa and expel that country from the United Nations if it continues to disregard resolutions calling upon it to abandon its discriminatory policies. Others, including Canada, have argued that sanctions are the prerogative of the Security Council and, in any event, should be examined most carefully before any decision is taken to apply them. In the Canadian view, any move to expel South Africa from the United Nations must be

examined in the light of the United Nations' ability to influence South African policies. If South Africa is outside the United Nations, such influence may be diminished.

Peace Keeping

The question of peace keeping will probably be discussed by the Assembly under an item inscribed by the Irish delegation entitled "the Authorization and Financing of Future Peace-keeping Operations". The Irish proposal is for specific action to be taken by the Assembly, but the Assembly will also be called upon to decide the more general question of which committee or body will be charged with examining future peace-keeping procedures. The most likely outcome is that the Assembly will refer the Irish proposal for detailed examination to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, which was established on February 18, 1965, for the purpose of making a comprehensive review of peace keeping in all its aspects, or to some successor body. Technically, the Special Committee's mandate ended with the end of the nineteenth session on September 1.

The most urgent issue to come before the Assembly in this field will be the future financing of UNEF¹.

UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA)

This agency was set up in 1950 to provide relief for and facilitate the rehabilitation of the Arab refugees who had lost their homes and means of livelihood during the hostilities which accompanied the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. More than one million refugees still receive rations or full services (including education) from UNRWA at a cost of some \$36 million dollars annually. This work is supported by voluntary donations, both private and national. The principal contributors are the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Australia and New Zealand, while the balance of UNRWA's revenue is derived from small contributions by some 40 other countries, WHO, UNESCO and private contributors. The mandate of the Agency was renewed during the nineteenth session of the General Assembly for the period July 1, 1965, to June 30, 1966, and will thus be up for renewal at the twentieth session. Discussion of the work of the Agency will, as in the past, focus on the possibility of progress towards a permanent solution for the refugees, and the Arab states and Israel can be expected to reiterate their long-established positions on both the refugee problem and the whole Palestine question.

Effects of Atomic Radiation

The United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR), of which Canada is a member, was established by the Assembly

⁽¹⁾ See item under Fifth Committee.

to collect, study and disseminate information on the effects of atomic radiation on man and his environment. The Committee submits yearly progress reports to the Assembly, and comprehensive reports were released in 1958 and 1962.

Last year's report of UNSCEAR devotes particular attention to the problems of the contamination of the environment by nuclear explosions and the question of the possibility of quantitatively assessing the risk of induction of malignancies by radiation in man. This year, the Committee will not meet until the latter half of November, and presumably this item may not be discussed, therefore, until December. It is usually non-controversial. Canada strongly supports the work of the Committee.

Second Committee

The Second Committee is the apex of the institutional structure through which the United Nations operates on a wide variety of questions, mostly relating to trade and economic development. Thus, the Committee considers reports of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the various Specialized Agencies and bodies reporting through ECOSOC to the Assembly. This year, the emphasis in the Second Committee will be on the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, an organization newly created by the nineteenth session to deal with world trade problems related to economic growth.

UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

International trade statistics indicate that the developing countries have not shared proportionately in the post-war world trade expansion. The terms of trade have deteriorated and the developing countries have experienced difficulties in selling their products in the markets of developed countries. As a result, their economic development has been hampered by inadequate export earnings with which to finance their purchases of capital goods. UNCTAD represents a major attempt to come to grips on a global scale with the trade problems of developing countries.

The nineteenth session of the General Assembly established, by means of the no-vote procedure, a continuing organ to deal with the world trade problem. This new organ is set up essentially in accordance with recommendations of the UNCTAD meeting held in Geneva in the spring of 1964 and consists of the following:

- (a) UNCTAD sessions similar to the Geneva conference at intervals not exceeding three years.
- (b) A 55-member United Nations Trade and Development Board, normally to meet twice a year and elected from the participants of the UNCTAD conferences.

- (c) Committees of the Trade and Development Board to deal with problems in specific economic sectors. (Four committees have already been established, dealing respectively with the world trade in commodities, manufactures, invisibles and finance, and shipping.)
- (d) A permanent secretariat with a secretary-general to be appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and confirmed by the General Assembly. (Dr. R. Prebisch has been appointed and confirmed by the Assembly as the first secretary-general of UNCTAD.)

An important additional provision concerns a conciliation procedure which may be invoked before a vote taken in the Conference, the Trade and Development Board, or in the committees. The developed nations insisted on this procedure to ensure the widest possible consensus on any measure before adoption, because the Geneva conference of UNCTAD showed that the developing nations could use their voting majority to pass recommendations unacceptable to other nations upon whom the success of UNCTAD depended.

Although the Trade and Development Board will have met twice by the time the Assembly begins, and although its subsidiary committees have begun functioning, the new organization is still in its formative stage and concrete results can probably not be expected for some time.

Other Items

Most of the remaining items on the agenda relate in one form or another to discussions at the Geneva conference in 1964 and some of these discussions were carried further in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth sessions of ECOSOC. Probably the most important among these will be the merger of the Special Fund with the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA). The purpose here is to rationalize aid and development projects and responsibilities of United Nations agencies. Other items on the agenda deal with or relate to:

- (a) The World Food Programme;
- (b) an agency for industrial development;
- (c) the United Nations Capital Development Fund;
- (d) regional development;
- (e) the United Nations Development Decade.

Third Committee

The Third Committee considers questions primarily of a sociological nature. Much of the work for this Committee is generated by four of the seven functional commissions of the Economic and Social Council (Social Commission, Commission on Human Rights, Commission on the Status of Women, and Commission on Narcotic Drugs). Resolutions and recommendations from these functional commissions must first have the approval of the Economic and Social Council

(ECOSOC), to which they report. Once having obtained this approval, the resolutions are passed on to the Assembly, where they are considered in the Third Committee. The Committee also deals with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UNESCO and some aspects of the work of ECOSOC.

International Declarations and Conventions

In past years the Committee has considered and approved a number of international conventions. Among these are the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage, and Registration of Marriages, which was opened for signature in 1962, the Convention on the Status of Refugees, completed in 1951, and the Supplementary Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, which was completed in 1956.

At this session the Committee will pursue consideration of a draft declaration and a draft convention on freedom of information. It will also consider the draft declaration on the right of asylum, which is apt to provide somewhat the same difficulty as it has in previous years. The declaration provides for the right of an individual who is being politically persecuted in his country of origin to seek asylum in a country of his choice. This conception has produced a great deal of discussion in the Committee. Soviet-bloc countries tend to support the principle that asylum is the right of an individual to demand, while some Western countries, including Canada, consider asylum the right of a country to grant.

At the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, the Committee adopted a Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination and passed a resolution asking the Human Rights Commission to draw up a draft Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination and a similar Declaration on Religious Intolerance. The Commission has completed a draft convention on racial discrimination but the draft declaration on religious intolerance is not yet ready. The Committee will, therefore, consider the former in detail, but will probably not have much time available to consider the latter legal instrument.

International Covenants on Human Rights

Many of the items considered by the Third Committee tend to be of a continuing nature. One of its primary tasks in past years has been consideration of the International Covenants on Human Rights. The Covenants, which contain articles on civil and political, economic, social, and cultural rights, have been considered by every session of the Committee since 1955. The Committee has had difficulty in finding a text for each article that would be supported by a majority of states. Each country considers the drafts presented in the light of its philosophy of jurisprudence, its existing laws, its constitutional and practical capabilities, its political problems and objectives, and many other relevant factors. For example, Soviet-bloc countries tend to view human rights as a collective right, while Western countries tend to put the emphasis on the rights of the individual.

As far as Canada is concerned, many of the articles of the Covenants fall under the jurisdiction of the provinces, and no provision has been made in the Covenants to take into account the constitutional difficulties of federal states such as Canada. Canada has also refrained from supporting provisions in the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights that prescribe "the right to work", "the right of everyone to social security", "an adequate standard of living", "adequate food, clothing and housing", and "the right to take part in cultural life". The ideas expressed in such articles are difficult to implement by legislative means particularly with the conception of the role of government in society that underlies the governmental system in a parliamentary democracy.

Despite the difficulties encountered by the Committee in relation to the Covenants, agreement has now been reached on the texts of most of the articles. When completed, the Covenants will be considered by the Assembly, and if approved, will become legal documents ready for signature and ratification by United Nations member states.

This session, the Committee will continue consideration of implementing articles. At the eighteenth session, it became apparent that the newly-independent states of Africa did not want to become involved at this stage in the subject of implementation, with its inherent limitations to national sovereignty, particularly in the case of the Political Covenant. The Soviet bloc indicated its preference for a single system of implementation for both Covenants, based primarily on a reporting procedure, as is at present the case with the draft Social Covenant. The Soviet bloc recommended, however, that the reporting procedure should be made more detailed, so that contracting states could give information about the specific implementation of their commitments. Most Western countries declared themselves ready to support the provisions of the articles set forth in both Covenants, although several delegations, including the Canadian Delegation, questioned the advisability of giving the International Court of Justice the responsibility of appointing the Human Rights Committee, a proposed conciliation and good offices commission under the Political Covenant.

Other Items

The Committee will also consider the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, portions of the report of ECOSOC, a proposal for the designation of 1968 as International Year for Human Rights and two items concerning the promotion of respect for human rights and the promotion of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding among peoples.

Fourth Committee

The Fourth Committee handles colonial questions. In the past few years the pressure for rapid advance to self-government and independence has been so great that a number of colonial items have been assigned to plenary. Thus it is

possible to have a debate on, let us say, Rhodesia, proceeding in the Fourth Committee while plenary is discussing the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four on Colonialism. However, the Fourth Committee remains the focal point of the anti-colonial movement in the United Nations.

Basically, the aim behind the work of the Fourth Committee is to encourage the speedy political development of the remaining colonial territories. Three classes of colonial territories come within its field of responsibility:

- (a) *Non-Self Governing Territories*. There are some 50 of these, ranging from Angola and Mozambique to small island dependencies like Mauritius and St. Helena.
- (b) *Trust Territories*. Only three territories remain under the trusteeship agreements negotiated after the Second World War: Nauru, Australian New Guinea and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the United States.
- (c) *The Mandated Territory of South West Africa*, administered by the Republic of South Africa under a mandate granted by the League of Nations. The international supervisory responsibilities formerly exercised by the League have been taken over by the United Nations.

The hard-core colonial problems that will come before the Fourth Committee at this session can be narrowed to three: Rhodesia, the Portuguese territories in Africa, and South West Africa. In these territories, power is in the hands of a minority of European settlers and the Africans, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, are still deprived of many basic political rights.

Rhodesia

As regards Rhodesia, at the Commonwealth prime ministers' conference in June the African members urged Britain to call a "constitutional conference" within three months. The British Prime Minister promised that, if discussions now in progress did not result in agreement on Rhodesia's advance to independence, the British Government "would be ready to consider promoting such a conference in order to ensure Rhodesia's progress to independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole". Since the three-month period will have elapsed when the Assembly takes up the question, the African and Asian states will probably try to set an early deadline for calling the proposed constitutional conference. Should the Rhodesian Government decide to declare independence unilaterally, the British Government may be urged to take steps to prevent such action. If, as is conceivable, the Rhodesian Government does declare independence while the Assembly is in session, there will be an immediate demand for Security Council action including, in all probability, calls for sanctions against the Rhodesian Government.

Portuguese Territories

The Fourth Committee is likely to adopt further recommendations seeking to persuade Portugal to accept the principle of self-determination and to co-operate with

the United Nations in preparing the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, etc., for eventual self-government and independence. In addition, the African states may try to strengthen these recommendations and to isolate Portugal further by bringing in resolutions calling for various forms of sanctions against that country in the economic field as well as for a ban on military and technical assistance.

South West Africa

The South African Government will no doubt again be censured for its continued refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in carrying out numerous Assembly resolutions on South West Africa or to permit the establishment of an effective United Nations presence in the territory. Although there is no doubt that the African states are becoming increasingly impatient about this matter, efforts to impose sanctions against South Africa to bring about a change in its policies with respect to South West Africa may be delayed pending the International Court decision on South West Africa, which is expected to be handed down late in 1965.

Fifth Committee

The primary tasks of the Fifth Committee are to arrange for the provision of adequate funds for administrative services and basic programmes, administrative and operational costs of economic and refugee programmes, and peace and security operations, as well as to consider the financial implications of Assembly decisions. Among the principal items likely to be discussed in the Fifth Committee are the following:

Financing of UNEF for 1966

The cause of the current United Nations financial crisis has been the refusal of certain countries, for political or legal reasons, to pay their assessed share of the cost of major peace-keeping operations. As of January 1, 1964, the Communist states were in arrears in excess of their assessments for the regular budget for the preceding two full years and were, consequently, in danger of losing their Assembly votes under the provisions of Article 19 of the Charter. France came into the same category on January 1, 1965. In order to avoid a confrontation over Article 19, the short-lived nineteenth session approved without objection a resolution granting the Secretary-General blanket authority to make payments at levels not exceeding 1964 commitments. In interpreting this resolution to cover UNEF (United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East) as well as the regular budget (ONUC [the Congo Operation] having terminated on June 30, 1964), the nineteenth session also requested all member states to contribute towards 1965 UNEF expenses at a level not less than 80 per cent of 1964 contributions. On September 1, 1965, the resumed nineteenth session adopted the report of the

Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (agreed upon at its eighteenth meeting on August 31, 1965), containing the consensus that "the General Assembly will carry on its work normally in accordance with its rules of procedure", "the question of the applicability of Article 19 will not be raised with regard to UNEF and ONUC", and "the financial difficulties of the organization should be solved through voluntary contributions by member states, with the highly-developed countries making substantial contributions".

Within this framework, and assuming that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations will not, in the immediate future, decide upon a specific formula to govern the financing of major peace-keeping operations, it will be the task of the Fifth Committee to agree upon the means of financing UNEF for 1966 (if the Assembly decides to authorize the continuance of the Force for another year).

United Nations Bond Issue

A perennial problem confronting the Fifth Committee has been the refusal of certain countries to pay the portion of their assessments for the regular budget attributable to the bond issue authorized by the sixteenth session. An annual amount is included in the regular budget to pay interest and amortization charges as they become due. As UNEF and ONUC were financed from the proceeds of the bond issue in the period from July 1, 1962, to June 30, 1963, the Communist countries have claimed that the bond issue is a devious device to achieve payment for peace-keeping operations of which they disapprove.

Budget Estimates for 1965 and 1966

Owing to the unusual circumstances of the nineteenth session, the Assembly was unable to consider the United Nations budget for the financial year 1965. Instead, the Assembly authorized the Secretary-General to enter into commitments and to make payments at levels not to exceed the corresponding commitments and payments for the year 1964. At the twentieth session, revised estimates for 1965 will be considered in the Fifth Committee.

The Fifth Committee must also approve the budget estimates for the financial year 1966, aided by the report of the ACABQ (Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions). The gross expenditures proposed in the 1966 estimates are \$116.7 million (U.S.), which is an increase of \$8.4 million over the 1965 level of \$108.4 million recommended by the Advisory Committee. After deducting estimated income, the net expenditure proposed for 1966 is \$98.8 million, which is an increase of \$7.4 million over the 1965 level of \$91.4 million recommended by the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee recommends reductions in the 1966 expenditure estimates totalling \$2.1 million.

In presenting the 1966 estimates, the Secretary-General has again been confronted by the dilemma of balancing the precarious financial position of the organization (mainly the result of peace-keeping operations) with the increasing

demands of member states for expanded programmes in the economic and social fields. Of a total of 455 additional employment posts requested, 322 are intended for economic and social activities (including 132 posts for the Centre for Industrial Development (CID) and 73 posts for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)). The Advisory Committee, while not questioning the need for additional staff, points out that 200 new posts were approved for 1965 and 169 further posts were approved for the UNCTAD Secretariat in 1965. Consequently, the Advisory Committee queries the prudence of moving ahead so rapidly before the 1965 increases have been fully absorbed. While permitting a sizeable increase over 1965, the Advisory Committee recommends substantial decreases in the number of new posts requested in the 1966 estimates. The Fifth Committee will have to decide what level of increase is justified.

The Advisory Committee joins the Secretary-General in appealing to member states to consider the need and desirability of reducing the marked proliferation in the number of United Nations meetings and conferences. There is a pressing need for the establishment of priorities in the use of the limited facilities of the organization.

The Advisory Committee again recommends that the Assembly should decide that the standard of travel for the reimbursement of expenses of United Nations employees should be at the air-economy class level. This decision is dictated by the serious financial situation of the organization, increasing demands in the economic and social fields and the increasing use of economy class by the foreign services of member states.

Report of Committee on Contributions

The scale of assessments for the regular budget assigns a percentage of total expenses to each member government according to its relative capacity to pay, as determined by such factors as a member's *per capita* income, gross national product and population. The maximum contribution of any member state should not exceed 30 per cent of the total budget and, accordingly, the assessment of the United States is gradually being reduced to 30 per cent. In its report to the nineteenth session, the Committee on Contributions recommended a new scale of assessments, under which the Canadian rate would be raised from 3.12 per cent to 3.17 per cent of the total budget. This new scale will be discussed in the Fifth Committee during the twentieth session and, if adopted, will be submitted for approval to the General Assembly.

The General Assembly has decided that, normally, the *per capita* contribution of any member should not exceed the *per capita* contribution of the member that bears the highest assessment (namely the United States). As the population of Canada has increased more rapidly than the population of the United States, the Canadian rate was raised to 3.17 per cent in order to reflect this changing factor.

Distribution of Secretariat Posts

In its discussion of personnel questions, the Fifth Committee will consider progress achieved towards realizing the objective of "equitable geographical distribution" of professional posts in the United Nations Secretariat. The seventeenth session established new guidelines to govern equitable geographical distribution by approving "desirable ranges", or quotas, for each region and each member state. The eighteenth session emphasized the need to make the senior ranks of the Secretariat more representative of the membership as a whole.

Salary Scales of UN Professional Staff

The Fifth Committee, aided by the report of the International Civil Service Advisory Board and the report of the Secretary-General, will review the salary scales of the professional and higher categories of the international civil service. The normal criterion used to gauge United Nations salary scales has been that principal international staff should be compensated at the same rate as the highest-paid civil services of individual member states. To support recommendations to raise salaries, therefore, the Advisory Board has drawn upon, *inter alia*, the Canadian salary scale.

United Nations International School (UNIS)

The nineteenth session approved, by the "no-objection" procedure, the use of the north end of the United Nations headquarters site for the construction of UNIS and the acceptance of a \$7.5 million grant from the Ford Foundation, to build the School. The Foundation grant was conditional upon the establishment by the Assembly of an endowment fund of \$3 million to ensure the School's financial independence from the UN regular budget and, accordingly, the nineteenth session called upon member states to take prompt action to ensure voluntary contributions towards establishment of the endowment fund. As of June 23, 1965, \$144,378 in contributions had been received (including \$35,000 (Cdn) pledged by Canada).

As many second thoughts were subsequently raised as to the advisability of constructing the School on the headquarters site (the expression of such doubts having been eliminated by the use of the "no-objection" procedure), the UNIS Board of Trustees has been studying the possibility of constructing the School on an alternative site. Mr. Laurence Rockefeller has offered to donate \$1 million for the purchase of land for a suitable alternative site and the City of New York has offered to donate the airspace for a "platform" of four to five acres to extend over the East River from East River Drive between 24th and 26th Streets. Under this new proposal, the United Nations will pay for the construction of the platform, but most costs should be met by the Rockefeller donation. The Ford Foundation would appear to be favourable to this alternative plan, which will be discussed in the Fifth Committee.

Installation of Mechanical Means of Voting

As part of a general attempt to improve the methods of work of the Assembly, electrical voting equipment has already been installed in the Plenary Hall and the preparatory work has been finished for installation in two other conference rooms so that the system may be extended if the Plenary Hall experiment proves successful. The Fifth Committee will, therefore, review the performance of the voting equipment in the Plenary Hall in order to determine whether the equipment should be continued permanently in plenary and whether the system should be introduced into some or all of the remaining committee rooms.

Sixth Committee

The Sixth Committee is concerned with items that are essentially (though not exclusively) legal in nature. This year its agenda includes:

- (a) The reports of the International Law Commission (a body of legal experts, appointed in their personal capacity to codify and further develop international law) on the work of its last two sessions.
- (b) The question of extended participation in general multilateral treaties concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations.
- (c) Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. This item was examined by a United Nations Special Committee which met in Mexico City in the summer of 1964. The Committee's report to the Sixth Committee contains draft formulations of some of the principles involved as well as suggestions on the future handling of this item.
- (d) Consideration of steps to be taken for progressive development in the field of private international law with a particular view to promoting international trade.
- (e) The question of observance by member states of the principles relating to the sovereignty of states, their territorial integrity, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the condemnation of subversive activities (new item proposed by Madagascar).
- (f) Technical assistance to promote the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law.

Canada-France Parliamentary Association

A DELEGATION of six French deputies met with Canadian members of Parliament in Ottawa September 2 and 3, 1965, to work out in detail the establishment of the Canada-France Parliamentary Association. The meetings followed agreement in principle reached last June between the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Honourable Alan Macnaughton, and the President of the French National Assembly, M. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, that such an association should be founded in order to deepen and strengthen the relations between the parliaments of the two countries.

The French delegation was led by a Vice-President of the National Assembly, M. Achille Peretti, and also included Assembly members Xavier Deniau, Roger Julien, René Le Bault de la Morinière and Lucien Neuwirth.

The head of the Canadian delegation was Paul Tardif, M.P. The other Canadian delegates were the Honourable J. H. Théogène Ricard, F. Andrew



Received by Prime Minister Pearson (seated right) during the recent visit to Ottawa of a delegation of French parliamentarians: seated left— Mr. Achille Peretti, head of the delegation; standing, left to right— Mr. X. Deniau, Mr. Jean Chrétien, Mr. Paul Tardif, head of the Canadian delegation, Mr. Lucien Neuwirth, Mr. René Le Bault de la Morinière, Mr. Roger Julien and Mr. Jean Priou, secretary of the French group.

Brewin, William Heward Graffley, John J. Greene, Gilles Grégoire, Marcel Lessard and J. E. Bernard Pilon, all Members of Parliament. The meetings were chaired by Mr. Macnaughton and by the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Lucien Lamoureux.

In welcoming the French delegates, Mr. Macnaughton said that their visit was a great step forward in the realization of a project which had long been cherished by many French and Canadian personalities. It was time, he went on, "to tighten the ties of friendship which already exist between our countries, and to organize them further on the parliamentary level". "There are many matters of common interest to our two peoples," he said, "and we should seek the opportunity to meet more often in order to discuss them."

During their meeting, the parliamentarians drew up a constitution, which states that the Association's purpose is to promote "a better understanding of national and international problems and to develop co-operation between the two countries in all fields of human endeavour". The constitution also provides that the Association is to have annual meetings, taking place alternately in France and in Canada.

While in Ottawa, the French parliamentarians were received by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, and the Leader of the Opposition, the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker. During an eight-day tour of Canada, which followed the meetings, the French delegation visited the Quebec and British Columbia provincial legislatures, the site of Expo '67 in Montreal, and the Banff School of Fine Arts.

The following are the texts of a communiqué issued at the close of the Ottawa meetings and of the Constitution of the Association:

Communiqué

A French parliamentary delegation met this week in Ottawa with a Canadian parliamentary delegation to study in detail the setting up of a parliamentary association between Canada and France. At one of their meetings attended by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Macnaughton, and presided over by Mr. Lamoureux, a thorough examination of the various possibilities available allowed participating members to express their views.

Considering that a large segment of the population of Canada shares the same culture as that of France and speaks the same language, and that there are many historical and sentimental ties between the two countries, the delegates agreed that:

Friendship between the two countries should be strengthened and problems of mutual interest should be discussed more regularly, be they on parliamentary or administrative techniques;

cultural and commercial relations should be developed;

greater co-operation, which is only a modern aspect of the traditional conception of fraternity, should be introduced.

The delegates agreed to limit equal participation of each country in the Association to ten members. The creation of this Association will in no way affect friendship groups already existing, such as France-Canada and France-Quebec. The delegates have also decided that at the end of future sessions a joint press release would be issued.

The Association will hold its next meeting in Paris and then will meet in Canada during the Universal and International Exhibition in 1967.

The delegates then unanimously adopted a motion of congratulations to President Chaban-Delmas of the National Assembly and Speaker Macnaughton of the House of Commons, who jointly promoted the creation of the Association.

During today's meeting, the delegates studied and adopted a constitution for the newly-created Association.

* * *

The French delegation wishes to express its sincere appreciation to Speaker Macnaughton, to all members of the Canadian delegation and to government officials by whom they were so graciously received.

* * *

Saddened by the news of the death of Sir Harry Hylton-Foster, Speaker of the British House of Commons, the French delegation joins with the Canadian delegation in paying homage to the illustrious parliamentarian.

Constitution

Article 1

A parliamentary association is hereby created which shall be called "Canada-France Parliamentary Association" or "France-Canada Parliamentary Association" according as its activities take place in Canada or in France.

Article 2

The Association's purpose is to initiate and encourage projects in order to promote better mutual understanding of national and international problems and develop co-operation between the two countries in all fields of human endeavour.

Article 3

The Association includes a Canadian Section and a French Section, each made up of ten parliamentarians.

Article 4

The Association shall have an annual general assembly, made up of both Sections and taking place alternately in France and in Canada.

Article 5

The President of the National Assembly and the President of the House of Commons shall be *ex officio* joint presidents of the Association. They shall preside over the general assembly that is held in their respective countries and over their own Sections.

Article 6

The agenda for the meetings shall be prepared by the president of the assembly in the host country, in agreement with his colleague of the other assembly. He shall be responsible for the convening of the assembly.

Article 7

The annual general assembly may appoint committees for the settlement of matters it wishes to refer to them.

Article 8

Regulations:

- (a) Sessions shall be presided over by the president of the inviting assembly or in his absence by the president of the other assembly. If unable to attend, the presidents appoint a vice-president.
- (b) Sessions shall be held *in camera*; however, one or two secretaries for each delegation may attend the sessions.
- (c) Members of the Sections are free to mention the subjects discussed during sessions, but they must not name any of the participating members as the author of a specific statement.
- (d) Joint communiqués are published at the close of the sessions.
- (e) Each Section may, if it so wishes, submit a report on the meeting to its assembly or its government.
- (f) Minutes shall be kept for each session and shall be confirmed at the beginning of the next session.

Colombo Plan Review

IN JANUARY 1950, seven men of international stature met in Colombo, Ceylon, to discuss the less-developed areas of the Commonwealth. They were Lester B. Pearson, then Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Sir Percy Spender of Australia, Ernest Bevin of Britain, Gul Mohammed of Pakistan, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, F. W. Doidge of New Zealand and D. S. Senanayake of Ceylon.

Building better than they knew, the seven laid the basis for an experiment in international co-operation that has never been equalled. They chose an area for development covering only a sixteenth of the world's surface but containing a quarter of its population. Starting as a Commonwealth conception, with Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand, as donors, studying the development blue-prints of Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore, the Plan soon expanded to include all the countries of the region, and the original donors were joined by the United States and Japan. After a while, even the distinction between giver and receiver blurred as the developing countries found ways of helping each other.

Looking back in 1965, the member countries were able to estimate that a total of \$15 billion had been spent under the Plan during its 15 years of existence. Canada had contributed \$528,678,000, mostly to the Commonwealth countries of Ceylon, India, Malaysia and Pakistan, which accounted for over 90 per cent of Canadian expenditures.

Large-scale development efforts require equipment and services, technical skills and sophisticated knowledge, most of which are in short supply in the less-developed regions. Since such development demands considerable initial investment without substantial immediate return, it causes balance-of-payments difficulties and foreign-exchange problems.

Self-Help Encouraged

The Colombo Plan has tried to provide the kind of assistance that will help member countries with their own development plans. It has taken the form of capital aid (the construction of dams, power-houses and industrial plants), the supplying of experts to perform technical tasks, the provision of educational or technical-training facilities, and the granting of equipment.

It is, however, inherent in the Colombo Plan that the responsibility for national development is vested in the recipient countries themselves, which must raise the necessary resources for implementing their programmes and make the appropriate sacrifices to ensure a better future. External assistance, such as that given by Canada, only supplements the national effort.

A study of Canada's contributions to the Plan during the last few years reveals the emergence of a pattern of aid. From the broad list of undertakings, there

appears an emphasis on the four major fields of power, transport, natural resources and education. This pattern indicates that the developing countries believe that there are four areas in which Canada is pre-eminently qualified to render capital assistance. This may be assumed because Canada acts only in response to requests from various countries for help on projects usually included in the applicant country's national development plan.

Priority for Power Needs

Since power is a key element in development, it is natural that the larger and older Asian countries, which have both raw materials and vast domestic markets, have given priority to electrification. Hydro-electric, thermal and nuclear power developments have been built with Canadian assistance, as well as the transmission-lines that carry the power where it is needed. So far as possible, side benefits have been sought. Allied with the hydro-electric developments have been irrigation schemes that now bring the water of life to land that was long desert. Near the Canada-India nuclear reactor at Trombay are laboratories where the peaceful applications of atomic energy will be studied to the advantage of modern agriculture and health.

Transport facilities also form a vital part of the economic infrastructure. Canada is undertaking engineering studies in Thailand and the construction of bridges in Burma as well as developing an airport in Ceylon and a port in Singapore.

Canada has done a great deal to assist various nations in the exploitation of their agricultural, mineral, forestry and fisheries resources. Canadians are studying fisheries development in Malaysia, Ceylon and Pakistan, making a geological survey in India and mapping natural resources in Malaysia.

Increase in Education Aid

Throughout Asia, Canadian professors and teachers are working to establish new colleges, training institutions and vocational schools. Hundreds of students have been brought from Asia to Canadian universities and training establishments. Two main principles have been kept in mind. Canadian professors and teachers are, as far as possible, "phased out" after a brief period and their places taken by their local counterparts. Asians studying in Canada, who benefit from educational facilities that are not available in their homelands, return to spread the knowledge they have gained and to become essential cogs in the machinery of development.

In essence, this has been the policy behind the Colombo Plan — the wise use of the resources of both donor and recipient countries to enable the recipients to stand a little more firmly on their own feet.

Ceylon

The thread of this theme runs through the fabric of Canada's assistance. To Ceylon, for example, Canada has allocated a total of some \$29 million. It has car-

ried out an aerial survey and constructed such capital projects as transmission-lines and a fish-refrigeration plant, as well as assisting in the expansion of power-producing facilities and the development of the Katunayake Airport.

The transmission-lines have not only facilitated the interconnection of the power systems of the eastern and western sectors of the island but have supplied electricity to the industries, villages and schools of the Gal-Oya Valley.

India

Canadian assistance to India totalled \$273 million last year. In the State of Madras, Canadian and Indian engineers continued to work on Stage Three of the Kundah hydro-electric project, which will provide an additional 240,000 kilowatts of electric-generating capacity to meet the industrial demands of the area. Canada's contribution in engineering services, generating equipment and other materials for this third stage will total some \$21.8 million over a five-year period.

In 1964-65, work began on the Idikki hydro-electric power project, which includes the damming of the Periyar and Cheruthoni Rivers in Kerala State and the construction of a plant with a capacity of 500,000 kilowatts.

During 1964-65 Canada agreed to:

- (a) Assist India in a geological survey that would facilitate the development and exploitation of the country's natural resources. (The survey would be "phased" over a three-to-five-year period, at an estimated total cost to Canada of \$9,500,000, and would involve geological and geophysical studies and the training of Indian workmen in modern methods of mineral exploration and mining techniques.)
- (b) Expand the Umtru hydro-electric power-generating station, located in the State of Assam, resulting in an increase in plant generating capacity of 2,800 kw.
- (c) Provide newsprint, aluminum and other commodities to a value of \$10.9 million to help India make the maximum use of its existing industrial capacity.
- (d) Provide further commodity aid in the form of \$7 million worth of wheat under the regular food-aid programme.
- (e) Provide four cobalt-therapy units and accessories for the treatment of cancer and for research.
- (f) Provide replacement units and spare parts for the Canada-India Nuclear Reactor, which was originally built under Canadian auspices at Trombay, 25 miles northeast of Bombay.
- (g) Provide a range of construction equipment for economic-development projects, at a cost of \$3.5 million.
- (h) Provide diamond-drilling, geophysical and mechanical equipment to meet the needs of the oil and gas industry of India, at a Canadian cost of \$1.2 million.

In 1964-65, under the technical assistance programme, ten teachers and two

advisers were assigned to projects in India. Canadian professors of mechanical, electrical and civil engineering held positions at the Regional Engineering College, Mangalore.

The major fields of study of the 246 Indian trainees in Canada were medicine, surgery, nuclear power and steel-making. The 20 Indians training at a Canadian steel-mill were to be the last under this particular programme, which had extended over several years and had graduated 88 students.

Pakistan

Total Canadian assistance to Pakistan was \$178 million. Work was continued on the following projects:

- (a) The Bheramara-Goalpara transmission-line, 110 miles long, which will connect the Canadian-financed steam-generating plants at Gheramara and Goalpara.
- (b) The Comilla-Sylhet transmission-line, which will be approximately 140 miles long, and will connect the steam-power plants at Fenchuganj and Sylhet with the main grid system of East Pakistan at Siddhirjanj.
- (c) The Sukkur thermal-electric power plant, located in West Pakistan; Stage I was commissioned in March 1965, and consists of a 50,000-kw thermal-power generating plant and approximately 600 miles of transmission and distribution line.
- (d) The Chittagong land-use survey — a survey of the capabilities of some 33,000 square miles of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in East Pakistan, with a view to an integrated development programme.
- (e) The Khulna hardboard plant in East Pakistan will have an annual productive capacity of 30 million square feet of $\frac{1}{8}$ " board. A Canadian firm will be responsible for the design and for overseeing construction, and will also train Pakistani technicians in its operation.
- (f) The Lahore refugee housing project in West Pakistan will provide accommodation for approximately 28,000 refugees on a site that will also be developed for industry.
- (g) The Sangu multi-purpose project was completed. Canada provided \$355,000 to cover the cost of consulting engineers and survey equipment for a preliminary engineering study of the hydro-electric and irrigation potential of the Sangu River.
- (h) The Pakistan fishing industry. Canada has offered to provide up to \$4 million for the purchase of nylon fishing twine and other forms of fishing equipment for the fishing industries of East and West Pakistan.

Canada complemented its project assistance with commodity aid that took the form of \$6 million in industrial commodities such as copper and aluminum and \$3.65 million in food aid.

Training for 161 Pakistani students was arranged during the year 1964. Study programmes were established for, amongst others, a harbour-master, a veterinarian, a metallurgist and a road-design researcher.

During the period under review, seven Canadian advisers and three Canadian teachers served in Pakistan. Among this group were two specialists in wheat breeding and three university professors.

Malaysia

Since the Colombo Plan began, aid funds totalling \$14,056,000 have been made available to Malaysia. More than \$9 million of this amount has been capital assistance and the remainder technical assistance. In addition, "soft-loan" funds to the value of one million dollars were allocated to Malaysia under the new development-loan programme.

Canada's participation in the development of the Malaysian national television system came to an end this year. The system, which is designed largely for adult education, has been in operation for over a year, and the Canadian consulting engineers and technical advisers associated with it have returned home.

The programme under the direction of the University of British Columbia to establish schools of business administration at the Universities of Malaya and Singapore continued satisfactorily. Seven Canadian professors served at these universities in the past year.

Canadian consulting engineers continued work on the study of the feasibility of developing the hydro-electric resources of the Perak River. It is estimated that their report will be completed in December 1965.

During 1964-65, Canada undertook several new projects. The Natural Resources Survey will form the basis of a programme to develop Malaysia's forestry, agricultural and mining industries. Among other things, this project involves the aerial photographing of 50,000 square miles and the provision of 11 advisers to assist the Malaysians in the analysis and utilization of the survey data of the Malayan mainland. Equipment worth approximately \$3 million is being supplied to 53 comprehensive and secondary trade schools for the teaching of such subjects as carpentry, auto mechanics and electronics.

Teachers and Advisers

These projects continue Canada's long-term programme of assistance to educational institutions, under which other schools have been provided with equipment at a cost of \$458,500 before the period under review. Fifty two-way radios have been provided for use at isolated jungle posts by the Aborigine medical service. A bandsaw mill and ancillary equipment is being provided to a government school in Sarawak to train sawmill operators in modern methods of log conversion. Canadian consulting engineers are undertaking two feasibility studies — a survey of several proposed water and sewerage projects and an appraisal of the proposed harbour development on the island of Blakang Mati, Singapore.

During 1964, 21 teachers and 56 advisers served in Malaysia. In many instances, the positions filled by Canadian teachers and advisers have a close relation to Canadian capital projects. For instance, a fisheries co-operative expert con-

tinued as an adviser on the operation of a fisheries development that Canada helped establish on the east coast of Malaya. Canada participated in the founding of the Technical Teachers Training College, Kuala Lumpur, and, in 1964, five Canadian advisers held positions there that will provide some of the teachers staffing the 53 technical schools receiving Canadian equipment.

Two hundred and thirty-eight Malaysians were trained in Canada in the period under review, a larger number than from any other Colombo Plan country. One group of 18 studied methods of instruction in Canadian technical institutes. Five Malaysians studied Canadian television-production techniques as part of a continuing programme in this field associated with the capital project mentioned above.

Burma

To the end of the fiscal year 1964-65, Canada allocated to Burma assistance to a total value of \$5.7 million for economic-development purposes and technical assistance. The major capital project undertaken by Canada under the Colombo Plan in Burma is a bridge that spans the Pazunduang River to connect Rangoon with its suburb of Thaketa. Radium needles for the treatment of cancer were supplied to the Mandalay General Hospital.

South Vietnam

The total allocation of Canadian aid to South Vietnam under the Colombo Plan to the end of the fiscal year 1964-65 totalled \$2 million, chiefly in the form of technical assistance and wheat flour. In 1964, 141 Vietnamese students were enrolled in French-language universities in Canada and one technical expert served in Vietnam. Seven advisers are at present being recruited for posting to that country from Canada.

Thailand

A cobalt-therapy unit was supplied by Canada for use in the treatment of cancer at the Chulalongkorn Hospital in Bangkok. Forty-five Thai students were enrolled in Canada, and three technical experts were sent to Thailand during 1964. One of these experts made recommendations that will result in nine professors from the University of Manitoba being sent to set up faculties of agriculture and engineering at the University of the North East. Total Canadian commitments in Thailand since 1956-57, when Thailand joined the Colombo Plan, amount to \$763,000.

In recognition of continuing needs, Canadian economic assistance to the Colombo Plan members of South and Southeast Asia will increase in 1965-66, particularly with regard to technical assistance. Some of the new Colombo Plan members, such as Afghanistan and the Maldive Islands, will be sending trainees to Canada for the first time; others will be increasing the flow of students, and it is expected that the numbers of Canadians sent out as advisers and teachers will also be greater than in previous years.

Canadian Parliamentarians Visit the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia

AT THE invitation of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Chairman of the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a Canadian Parliamentary Delegation, headed by the Honourable Alan Macnaughton, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Senator David A. Croll, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from July 19 to 30 and to Czechoslovakia from July 30 to August 7, 1965.

Apart from the leaders, the delegation included: Senator John Hnatyshyn; Messrs Roy McWilliam, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Public Works, Donald S. Macdonald, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice, Maurice Rinfret, Deputy Government Whip, Jack Roxburgh, M.P., and Alexandre Cyr, M.P., of the Liberal Party; the Honourable Michael Starr, Opposition House Leader and former Minister of Labour, Messrs Kenneth H. More, M.P., and Terence J. Nugent, M.P., of the Progressive Conservative Party; Mr. T. C. Douglas, former Premier of the Province of Saskatchewan and leader of the New Democratic Party; Mr. Réal Caouette, Leader of Le Ralliement des Crédistes, and Mr. H. A. Olson, M.P., of the Social Credit Party. The delegation also had three advisers: Mr. George M. Carty, Special Assistant to the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Alan P. McLaine, of the Department of External Affairs, and Mr. Leo Robitaille of the Speaker's Office.



The Canadian Parliamentary delegation is shown in this photograph with the Canadian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Mr. M. W. Bow (fifth from the right) during their visit to Prague.

During their stay in Moscow, the members of the delegation were received by Mr. A. I. Mikoyan, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and Mr. A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who discussed with them a number of international problems as well as questions of Soviet-Canadian bilateral relations.

The Canadian Parliamentarians also had discussions with Mr. J. J. Peyve, Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and with members of the Commission on Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Soviet. They had the structure and work of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics and local Soviets of Working People's Deputies explained to them.

Visits Outside Moscow

After Moscow, where they stayed a few days, the delegates went to Tbilisi, Sochi, Kiev and Leningrad, and Senators Croll and Hnatyshyn and Mr. Starr were able to make private visits to their birthplaces or those of their parents. Senator Croll travelled to the Byelorussian village of Teterina, where he was born in 1900 and lived until the age of five. Mr. Starr visited the villages of Ivan Puste and Pecherna in the Western Ukraine, the former homes of his parents, and Senator Hnatyshyn visited his native village in Bukovina.

At the end of their stay in the Soviet Union, the Canadian delegates and their Soviet hosts agreed, as recorded in the communiqué issued at the end of the tour, that "the visit had been highly successful and had, above all, been useful in terms of promoting the development of better relations between the two countries". "Both sides," it continued, "agreed on the desirability of continued co-operation in the fields of mutual interest to Canada and the U.S.S.R. The parliamentarians of both countries pointed out with satisfaction that in recent years Soviet-Canadian ties and contacts in the fields of trade and cultural and scientific exchange had been considerably strengthened and widened."

Mr. Macnaughton extended a cordial and formal invitation to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet to send a parliamentary delegation to Canada. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

Tour of Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia, the delegation visited Prague, Bratislava, Brno, Karlovy Vary and Plzen, and was given an opportunity to learn something of the life of the people, particularly in the economic, scientific, artistic and cultural fields, and to visit a number of industrial and agricultural enterprises and social, health and cultural institutions.

During their stay in Prague, the members of the delegation were received by the Presidium of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister, Mr. Jozef Lenart, the Minister of Foreign Trade, Mr. Prantisek Hamouz, and the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Antonin Gregor. Discussions covered both important international problems and questions of Czechoslovak-Canadian relations.

In Bratislava, the delegation called on the chairman of the Slovak National Council, Mr. Michal Chudik, and other members of the Council. The delegates visited the Brno Engineering Works and the grounds of the International Engineering Trade Fair.

In the words of the communiqué issued at the end of the visit in Czechoslovakia, "the two parties considered the frank and friendly exchange of opinions to have been most useful and constructive in promoting the development of better relations between the two countries". In recent years, Czechoslovak-Canadian ties and contacts in the fields of trade, cultural and scientific exchange have grown significantly. The parliamentarians of both countries were therefore convinced, again as they said in their communiqué, of the "desirability of continued co-operation in the many fields of mutual interest to the two countries". The two parties noted with pleasure the increase in mutual trade and expressed their desire further to develop economic relations between the two countries", the release continued.

Mr. Macnaughton also extended a cordial and formal invitation to the Czechoslovak National Assembly to send a parliamentary delegation to Canada. His invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

The Commonwealth Arts Festival

IN SEPTEMBER, 1,500 musicians, dancers and singers from 22 countries gathered in Britain for the 17-day Commonwealth Arts Festival, the first of its kind, providing visitors to Britain this year with a unique opportunity of seeing, at the four Festival centres of London, Cardiff, Liverpool and Glasgow, the finest entertainment and art from round the world. Festival events enjoyed from September 16 to October 2 included attractions ranging from fireworks displays to ancient art treasures, from classical drama to modern plays, from symphony orchestras to steel bands.

The aim of the Festival was to forge cultural links between countries of the Commonwealth supplementing the already existing political and economic ties. The holding of such a festival, according to Mr. Ian Hunter, Director-General of the Festival and initiator and first Director of the Edinburgh Festival, was first suggested nine years ago by the Right Honourable Vincent Massey. As envisaged, the Festival's purpose was to reveal the diversity of the cultural traditions existing in the various Commonwealth countries through their music, theatre, dancing,



Le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde in a scene from "Klondyke", written by Jacques Languir, with music by Gabriel Charpentier.



The Winnipeg Ballet in a scene from "Les Whoops-de-Doo" with choreography by Brian Macdonald and music by Don Gilles.

visual arts, folk arts and crafts, film and television film, architecture and industrial design.

On October 7, 1964, the Secretary of State for External Affairs announced that the Canadian Government had accepted an invitation from the Commonwealth Arts Festival Society Limited to participate in the Festival. Later, at the turn of the year, it was announced that the Canadian Government's invitation to participate in the aspects of the Festival concerned with the performing arts had been accepted by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, Le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde and Les Feux Follets. With the Government acting as impresario, the Canadian contingent of musicians, ballet dancers and actors was transported with its properties by air to England. Comprising 240 artists, it was probably one of the largest cultural groups ever to be sent from one country to another. Commenting on the contingent, which reflected Canada's cultural diversity, the Director-General pointed out that the purpose of the Festival was to show the contrast among Commonwealth countries, and that nowhere were cultures more strongly contrasted than in Canada.

The representatives of Canadian theatre, Le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, performed in French Molière's *L'École des Femmes* and in English the Canadian musical *Klondyke*, at the Old Vic Theatre; Les Feux Follets, billed as Canada's

national folk-dance ensemble, played London's Piccadilly Theatre. The Toronto Symphony Orchestra gave concerts under its new Director, Seiji Ozawa, in the Royal Festival Hall in London, as well as at other Festival centres, and the Royal Winnipeg Ballet played at the Piccadilly Theatre in London before touring the Festival centres of Cardiff, Glasgow and Liverpool.

The Canadian companies were given a warm welcome. Sustained applause echoed on opening night for Jean Gascon and his Montreal company at the beginning of their two-week engagement; the vividly costumed ten-suite programme of *Les Feux Follets*, designed to express Canada's diverse ethnic heritage from Pacific coast Indian ritual dances, through Nova Scotia Highland flings to gay French-Canadian country dances, was applauded by capacity audiences. The *Daily Express* greeted the Royal Winnipeg Ballet in the following words: "The first impression is of disarmingly exuberant youthful vitality". The company was described by the *Daily Telegraph* as "a splendid Canadian achievement". The Toronto Symphony Orchestra received enthusiastic notices in London and the other Festival centres.

Canadian Art Treasures on Display

While Canada's performing-arts groups were playing to London audiences, visitors interested in the visual arts were viewing the Canadian contribution to the "Treasures of Commonwealth Art" exhibition. When the Canadian Government decided to participate in the visual aspects of the Festival, it was decided to organize an exhibit to be called "Art Treasures of Canada". The essential task was to present a visual synthesis of Canada today, as well as to acquaint visitors to the exhibition with the Canadian past. Representative works were chosen from the art treasures stored in Canadian galleries, museums and private collections that would best illustrate the wealth of silverwork and sculpture of the French régime, as well as the contribution of English painters and engravers. The exhibit, which was the largest on display at the Festival, demonstrated also the individuality and dynamism of the present generation of Canadian artists. Visitors to the exhibition were greatly attracted too by the Eskimo sculptures and Indian masks from the Pacific coast.

The "Treasures of Commonwealth Art" was held at Burlington House, London, the home of the Royal Academy. The display is remaining at Burlington House for most of the winter and becomes the Royal Academy's winter exhibit.

Other Events

Canadians also participated in other Festival events: the Nova Scotia Scottish Country Dance Society of Port Hawkesbury was represented in the Glasgow "Ceilidh", the Canadian poets J. R. Colombo, Earle Burney, A. W. Purdy and Paul-Marie Lapointe participated in the poetry conference held at Cardiff; the conductors Dr. Boyd Neel, Dean of Toronto's Royal Conservatory of Music, and John Avison, of the CBC, accepted the Commonwealth Festival Society's invitation to participate in the Conference of Musicians and Musicologists held at

the University of Liverpool. There was also a Canadian display in the exhibit entitled "Children's Art from the Commonwealth", which was arranged by the *Sunday Mirror* group and in the Commonwealth Textiles, Ceramics and Wood Carving exhibit arranged by the Council of Industrial Design. In addition, Canadian films were shown at theatres in the Festival centres. Among the National Film Board productions that have won honours in Canada were a number by Norman McLaren. At Cardiff, a special exhibition of Canadian drawings and prints was organized to present more than 60 works by contemporary Canadians. In Glasgow, the work of a Canadian playwright, James Reaney, was included in the Festival as the contribution of the Glasgow Citizen's Theatre, while Bernard Braden gave a Stephen Leacock programme there.

The Canadian Government's decision to participate in the Commonwealth Arts Festival was part of its general policy of expanding Canada's cultural relations with other countries; especially, at the outset, with the Commonwealth and French-speaking nations. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Toronto Symphony Orchestra accepted an invitation to travel to France immediately after the Festival to give a series of three concerts, two in Paris and one in Lyon. This visit was arranged as part of the Government's programme of cultural relations with countries entirely or partially of French expression.

As the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, pointed out, the presence of Le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde in London and of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra in Paris could not help but be a reminder to both founding nations of the richness of Canada's bicultural heritage.

Canada and the French-Speaking World

In a speech at the University of Montreal on September 3, 1965, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, discussed Canada's programme of assistance to French-speaking countries of Africa, with particular reference to the contribution that might be made by the Province of Quebec. The occasion was a briefing conference conducted by the education division of the External Aid Office for Canadian teachers who were about to go abroad to work in French in Africa and Southeast Asia.

The following is a partial text of Mr. Martin's remarks:

. . . Since the French-speaking nations of Africa became independent, Canada has co-operated actively in their social and economic development, particularly in educational development. There have been rapid and significant increases in this assistance, as in our aid programmes generally, in the past couple of years. Of 320 teachers who took part in projects overseas in the academic year 1964-65, 72 went to French-speaking countries, chiefly in Africa. During the coming academic year, 164 of a total of 540 will go to French-speaking countries, 14 of them in Africa and three in Southeast Asia.

Aid Allocation Increased

This significant increase in activity is apparent also in the total funds allocated for such co-operative projects. In the first three fiscal years, \$300,000 was allocated to assistance for French-speaking Africa but, in November 1963, the Government decided to undertake a larger programme and, in the fiscal year 1964-65, \$4 million was committed to this area of the world. Subject to Parliamentary approval, the Government plans to increase its aid allocation to French-speaking Africa during the current fiscal year to a total amount of \$7.5 million. I am glad that this particular part of our aid programme is expanding at a higher rate than any other part.

There are fears expressed occasionally that the amount of aid is too small or that funds committed are not spent quickly enough. The Government has been very much aware, as is clear from its declaration of November 1963, of the necessity of expanding its aid programmes rapidly while maintaining the control and efficiency in actual operations which is essential. There has been marked expansion since that time and it will continue. As I have mentioned on other occasions, the fact that the current allocation for French-speaking Africa is non-lapsing ensures that all funds committed to projects will be used. . . .

Biculturalism Reflected

Of the 1,800 students and trainees who came to Canada in 1964 under various parts of our aid programme, 500 were located in the Province of Quebec, the

great majority of whom were studying in French. It is the policy of the Government to ensure that the bicultural nature of our country is reflected in all parts of our external policy and that the educational and cultural resources of our country are all used in the development of the most effective aid programme possible. . . .

There are close connections between economic and political relations. Our interest in newly-independent African nations, their role in the United Nations and in the search for racial equality and peace, lead us in Canada to increasing contacts, which, in their turn, raise questions of economic assistance. In carrying out aid projects we develop fresh interests and expand our relations in all fields. . . .

Role of New Africa

The importance of Africa in the contemporary world is clear. Thirty-two nations have achieved independence there since 1945, and their governments are playing a role of increasing significance both in the United Nations and in regional agencies such as the Organization of African Unity. Their desire to assert their own identity, coupled frequently with a desire to maintain a heritage of links with the older nations of the West, not least through the use of the French and English languages, is impressive.

It is the interest of all of us that African independence should be aided and strengthened and that African nations should be able to determine their own courses, in accordance with their traditions and interests, and to choose their associates freely. The energy and determination of African leaders in seeking better conditions and the cheerful courage, strength and ability of the African people all arouse the respect, interest and sympathy of Canadians.

We have considered it particularly important, therefore, to develop diplomatic relations with states in Africa. At present we have seven diplomatic posts and one trade commissioner's office in Africa, and we maintain relations with a number of other states through dual accreditations. It is, of course, very important, that we should have our representatives stationed in Africa, both for the general political purposes indicated and to ensure the proper functioning of our aid programmes.

Embassy in Senegal

For these reasons, it gives me particular pleasure to announce for the first time today that we have decided to open a new embassy now in Dakar, the capital of Senegal, where a number of you will be spending the next year. The embassy in Dakar, when it is opened, will help greatly to strengthen ties with Africa generally, and will provide a third mission in French-speaking Africa, the other two being our embassies in Cameroun and Léopoldville in the Congo.

The expansion in our relations with Africa will continue during the next two years. We expect to be able to announce very shortly the opening of another post in addition to Dakar and then to open four more posts in the next two years.

The speed with which we can implement this programme will, of course, depend on the availability of administrative resources and on our ability to recruit suitable bilingual personnel, who can both operate effectively in this area and reflect the bilingual and bicultural nature of our Canadian society. This is a particularly important aspect of our current planning.

When this expansion is completed we expect to have 13 diplomatic missions and one trade commissioner's office in Africa. Five of these would be in French language countries, five in independent Commonwealth countries and four in other countries. Furthermore, because of multiple accreditations to nearby states, we shall be able to use staff from these missions to attend to Canadian interests of all types in most parts of Africa.

Relations with Francophone World

. . . Our economic interest in African nations where French is spoken overlaps another very important part of our external policy, that of relations with the French-speaking world generally and with France. Our first interest, so far as aid programmes are concerned, lies in the needs of the developing countries concerned, but we are glad when economic co-operation can be parallel to, and even reinforce, political and cultural interests, whether expressed in French about former French colonies or in English about Commonwealth countries. France is, of course, carrying out a very comprehensive economic and cultural programme in Africa, and we are glad to consult with the French about the way in which our efforts can be related to theirs.

Shortly after the declaration on increased aid in November 1963, the Government took important steps to develop closer relations with France in all fields. The visit which the Prime Minister and I made to President de Gaulle and his ministers at the beginning of 1964 inaugurated what I am sure will be considered a new era in such relations. The consultation between the President and Prime Minister has provided the stimulus and set the framework for consultations at many levels on many subjects since.

I am glad to have had the opportunity to consult with M. Couve de Murville on four occasions, since I have found these meetings of great significance for our two countries. We expect to have economic consultations at a senior level soon. Only a few days ago, we had the pleasure of welcoming French members of Parliament to Ottawa before their visit to many parts of Canada. They will create permanent connections with their Canadian colleagues.

I have always held strongly to the belief that Canada's foreign policy should reflect the bilingual and bicultural character of our country. I have already mentioned some of the ways in which I think we are making substantial progress in this direction. Canada, it seems to me, has a unique opportunity in relation to the developing countries of Africa and of Asia which in the past few years have become independent but have a heritage of British or French educational institutions. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to take the opportunity that our history

has given us at this stage in world affairs and to do all that we can to assist those developing countries in which English or French is the second language.

French-speaking Europe

In addition, we must strengthen and develop our relations with the French-speaking countries of Europe, first of all with France itself but also with Belgium and Switzerland. For the past two years, the Government has been rapidly increasing resources devoted to promoting cultural and educational exchanges with the French-speaking countries of Europe. On the basis of the promising start made last year with the allocation of \$250,000, the Government has recently decided to spend during the current fiscal year \$1 million on these exchanges, most of it to bring students and some professors from the great French-speaking universities of Europe to our universities. In return there will no doubt be increasing opportunities for French-speaking students from across Canada to study in European universities. At the same time, there will be an increasing flow of cultural visits and exchanges in both directions. Meanwhile, we are negotiating general cultural agreements with both France and Belgium and hope to have mixed commissions of experts representing both countries who will plan the expanding programmes to take account of the principal interests and opportunities on both sides. . . .

Practical arrangements to give effect to the expansion of contacts and exchanges of all kinds between France and Canada at the federal, provincial or municipal levels have been facilitated and promoted by the Federal Government. Far from wishing to restrain such exchanges, we hope that they will grow and increase to the benefit of Canada as a whole. We recognize that the interest of Quebec is naturally stronger than in other parts of Canada since Quebec has the highest proportion of French-speaking Canadians. As the External Affairs Minister, I consider the interests of all Canadians, whether the matter at issue be in the political, cultural or foreign-aid field. I am glad to see advances in external policy which are in accord with the interests, obligations, traditions and sentiments of all Canadians. . . .

There are critics who try to see opposing interests in this field or to assign exclusive responsibility for the carrying-out of some comprehensive programmes to one level of government or another. I cannot imagine Canadian obligations and interests of the scope of those I have been describing which would not be the concern of the Federal Government in its field of responsibility or not be the concern of a provincial government in its own field. The only question ever at issue is how to find the most effective means of co-ordinating the interests and activities of all concerned. I am encouraged by the effective work done so far to believe that appropriate means will always be found.

Need for Bilingual Personnel

I should like also to repeat what I have said on other occasions about the need for more young French-speaking Canadians to take up careers both in our diplo-

matic service and in aid work. I refer particularly to a speech I made in Quebec City, in June 1963, stressing the importance of recruiting young people who would help to present Canadian policy abroad in the appropriate bicultural and bilingual terms. It is clear that, if we are to expand our diplomatic representation in Africa, if we are to develop our aid operations, if we are to strengthen our relations with the Francophone world, we shall need urgently, both in Ottawa and at our posts abroad, more qualified bilingual personnel. The opportunity is there for those who wish to serve and to assist in implementing policies and programmes which will assert the bilingual and bicultural character of our country in Ottawa and in Canadian activities abroad. . . .

Statue of Portuguese Navigator for Newfoundland



A STATUE commemorating the voyages of the sixteenth-century Portuguese navigator Gaspar Corte-Real was unveiled on September 8, 1965, on Confederation Parkway in St. John's, the capital of Newfoundland. The statue was a gift of several Portuguese fishing organizations, in gratitude for the traditional hospitality of the people of Newfoundland.

Gaspar Corte-Real was born in the province of Algarve in the south of Portugal to a noble family of French origin who had come to help the first King of Portugal in his fight against the Moors. He made at least three voyages in the northeast Atlantic in search of

the Isles of Spices", then thought to be accessible from this direction. The first voyage, a Portuguese-Danish venture, occurred probably in 1472; the second took place in 1500; and the third, during which Corte-Real disappeared never to be seen again, in 1501. Corte-Real may thus have been the first European to set foot on Newfoundland soil.

The photograph above, shows in front of the statue (left to right): Admiral Henriques Santos Tenreiro, representing the Portuguese fishing fleet; Mr. Jaime Ferreira, Portuguese Consul at St. John's; Premier Joseph R. Smallwood of Newfoundland; and the Honourable Dr. G. A. Frecker, Newfoundland Minister of Provincial Affairs. In the background are members of the St. Nazare folklore group. Also present at the unveiling ceremony were the Portuguese Ambassador to Canada, His Excellency Dr. Eduardo Brazao, Commander A. Teixeira de Mota, the Honourable C. M. Lane, Newfoundland Minister of Fisheries, and other Portuguese and Canadian officials.

Canada's 1965 Contribution to Refugee Finances

A CHEQUE for \$290,000 (Canadian), representing Canada's contribution for 1965 to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, was presented recently to the High Commissioner, Mr. Felix Schnyder, in Geneva by Mr. S. F. Rae, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations and at present Chairman of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme. Accompanying Mr. Rae was Mr. Marvin Gelber, Member of Parliament, who was in Geneva as alternate Canadian representative to the thirty-ninth session of the UN Economic and Social Council.

The Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees was established in 1951 as the successor to the International Refugee Organization. Its field of responsibility has gradually shifted from war-torn Europe to Africa, where the emergence of many newly-independent states has created many thousands of new refugees requiring international assistance. The funds allotted to refugees from Rwanda



Mr. Rae (right) presents Canada's cheque to Mr. Schnyder (left), in the presence of Mr. Gelber (centre).

the Congo, the Sudan, Mozambique, the Central African Republic and Portuguese Guinea now account for about half the 1965 programme of \$3.5 million.

In presenting Canada's contribution, Mr. Rae paid tribute to the "persistent humanitarian efforts" of the UNHCR in dealing with a broad diversity of refugee problems in many parts of the world. "In order to be able to carry out effectively his role of intervening rapidly when requested, of stimulating aid from all sources of goodwill and of helping to co-ordinate action," he said, "the High Commissioner must have adequate funds. My country is proud to be a regular and substantial contributor to the UNHCR's work." Canada is the fourth largest contributor to the Programme, after the United States, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Canada's Relations with the Republic of Korea

KOREA, a rugged peninsula about the size of Britain, has a recorded history of 2,000 years and a distinguished cultural tradition. Its almost 40 million people, their language and their way of life, are quite distinct from those of neighbouring China and Japan. Canadian missionaries have been active in Korea since the late nineteenth century, but Canada's first official involvement in Korean affairs took place in 1947-8, when it served as a member of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. This Commission was set up to supervise elections throughout the country in order to establish an independent democratic government following 35 years of Japanese rule and three of divided U.S. and Soviet occupation. In 1948, the UN-recognized Republic of Korea was established in the southern half of the peninsula, and was recognized by Canada. The authorities in the North — the original Soviet occupation zone — denied UN competency, however, and established a separate Communist regime, which has received neither UN nor Canadian recognition.



The first resident Ambassador of the Republic of Korea presents his credentials. Left to right: The Honourable Roger Teillet, Minister of Veterans Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Sun Yup Paik, and the Honourable Wilfred Judson of the Supreme Court of Canada.

Canada's next major involvement in Korean affairs came in 1950, when Communist armies from the North invaded the Republic of Korea. The UN called for assistance, and 16 nations, including Canada, came to the aid of the R.O.K. The Canadian contingent, the fourth largest, comprised over 22,000 troops, three destroyers and an air-transport squadron; it suffered over 1,500 casualties. Since the war ended in 1953 with only a cease-fire along a line near the original North-South boundary, a Canadian liaison officer is still attached to the UN Command in Korea. Canada's contribution to Korean relief amounted to over \$7 million, the third largest contribution, and Canadian aid — through private agencies, as well as under the Colombo Plan — has continued since the war.

Full Diplomatic Relations

In January 1963, Canada and the Republic of Korea entered into full diplomatic relations. A non-resident Korean Ambassador presented his credentials at that time and, in November 1964, the first and current non-resident Canadian Ambassador to Seoul, Mr. Richard P. Bower, presented his credentials.

Two events of significance in Canadian-Korean relations took place this summer. On August 23, the first resident Korean Ambassador, Mr. Sun Yup Paik, presented his credentials, and in June Mr. Bower carried out his first major tour of Korea since becoming Ambassador. The following are excerpts from a report Mr. Bower has written on his impressions of Korea as obtained during his tour:

"The first thing which struck us wherever we went in Korea was the incredible number of children. Fifty per cent of the population in South Korea is under the age of 20. Children are carried on the back in Korea, with the child facing forward (as in Japan) and not backward (as is the papoose in Canada). Some families are so large that the parents cannot carry all their numerous offspring themselves, so that the older children carry younger ones and so *ad infinitum*. We saw children no older than four carrying babies strapped to their backs. Many men and women doing active physical work did so while carrying their young in this fashion.

Problem of Korea's Children

"Abortion is not as widespread in Korea as in Japan, perhaps because about 30 per cent of Koreans are Christians. However, child abandonment is widespread and constitutes a problem of terrifying proportions. A number of overseas voluntary agencies, including the Canadian 'Save-the-Children' Fund, are trying to cope with the problem but it is a losing battle. Many argue that only birth control can save the situation. The Canadian 'Save-the-Children' Fund have their headquarters in Pusan, where a Mr. Kim is in charge. We visited the establishment, as well as a nearby children's charity hospital. Mr. Kim explained that orphanages to take care of abandoned children were definitely not the answer. As bigger and better orphanages were built, more and more children were abandoned, the parents reasoning that the facilities available at the orphanage were so superior to any-

thing that they themselves could offer that they owed it to the children to 'get them into an orphanage'. It was reminiscent of English parents trying to get their children into Eton or Harrow. Mr. Kim's group approached the problem quite differently; they sought to locate the parents and induce them to take their child back. They were successful about 80 per cent of the time. When asked how they did this, Mr. Kim said that the parents remained curious about the fate of their offspring and kept snooping about the orphanage to find out. They could be spotted by one of the officials, and nine times out of ten would confess and want to see their baby. They would be questioned about the reason for having abandoned the child. The answer would almost invariably be that they could not afford to keep it. The 'Save-the-Children' Fund then studies the economics of the individual household involved and, where it is evident that the parents are not earning enough to support all their children, an attempt is made to increase the earning capacity of one or both of the parents. For example, the father might be given lessons in carpentering or taught how to make brooms or even equipped with a fruit and vegetable cart for selling produce on the streets of Pusan. In this way they are generally successful in reuniting the family and, incidentally, in providing them with a higher living standard into the bargain.

"In the case of factory workers in the city of Pusan with more children than they could afford, a different technique was applied. Here, the factory owners were approached for permission to establish a day nursery at the factory. This would enable the workers (who earn an average of \$10 a month) to bring their children to the factories, where they would be taken care of during the day by qualified attendants, trained and provided by the Fund. This programme has been very successful and has resulted in a large number of abandoned children being returned to their parents.

"The Government has decided that there is a need for birth control, and a nation-wide programme is now in preparation. The Family Planning Association had a meeting in Seoul shortly before our visit and, with government and private assistance, clinics are to be set up about the country where the latest techniques will be recommended and explained.

Travel and Transportation

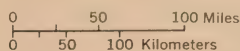
"Communications throughout Korea were substantially better than we had been led to expect. A network of railways covers the country; roadbeds appeared in excellent condition and rolling stock adequate. About 50 per cent of locomotives are diesel. Uncertainty about road conditions led us to include a 'Land Rover' in the convoy, but this proved to be an unnecessary precaution. The roads were mostly gravel — less than 30 per cent of the distance covered was over surfaced roads. These were invariably dusty, but well graded and consolidated. A vast amount of road work is in progress, the latest types of American road-building equipment being employed. At the rate that paving is proceeding, it will not be long before all the main roads, at least, will be surfaced. Most of the work was

KOREA

.....International Boundary

©.....National Capital

++++ Railroad



being done by army engineering units. Few countries can have a more difficult terrain for road building. The peninsula is essentially a series of mountain ridges with narrow and restricted valleys. Motor roads follow valleys in a series of tortuous twists, climb over heights of land, descend other valleys, and repeat the process interminably. A distance of 50 miles as the crow flies can be 150 miles or more by road. Traffic on the roads was light, about 80 per cent of it being military. Our car (a Canadian Chevrolet) was such a novelty that children would run to the roadside to see it go by and would crowd around it when it stopped.

"Korean roads are designed for considerably more vehicular traffic than uses them today and, while they will come into their own as the economy and living standards pick up, their principal function today is related to national defence. Military traffic was high, much of it heavily camouflaged, which indicates a praiseworthy state of readiness. The whole country (especially north of Seoul) is an armed camp and there were army depots and road blocks at incredibly frequent intervals, all connected by phone. The soldier presented an extremely smart and tough appearance. There seemed to be no unnecessary military interference with civilian life, and no public resentment. In addition to public works in road building and irrigation, soldiers help with rice planting, and grow large quantities of other crops, particularly vegetables. A private soldier's pay is about \$1.00 a month and keep, which for many Koreans is a good living. Bullock carts and pedestrians constitute the bulk of the non-military traffic, except, perhaps, in the vicinity of Seoul, where there is considerable truck traffic.

"Telephones are adequate, but the number of new installations has taxed exchange facilities. Radio and television networks exist, but the number of instruments in relation to population is small — especially when compared with Japan. The mountainous nature of the country and the scarcity of large urban areas (other than Seoul and Pusan) make television service difficult.

Agricultural Methods

"There are few plains in Korea, and the overriding impression left with the traveller is of a country of mountain rice and barley culture in irrigated fields stretching down narrow valleys consisting of relatively poor soil. Farming methods are primitive; we never saw one mechanical cultivator the whole time we were there, only bulls and primitive plows. In some sections threshing was done by placing the cut cereals on the paved road and letting the tires of passing cars do the work.

"Everywhere the people were gathering leaves for fertilizer. The amounts gathered make it hard to understand how any trees could survive the amputations. In fact, trees are cultivated and protected for no other purpose than to provide leaves to help fertilize the paddies, oak being favoured above all others. The soil is generally inferior and satisfactory yields require extensive fertilization. Pig and ox manure mixed with grass, and, of course, night-soil and sea-weed, are widely used.

"Korea, like China, is composed almost entirely of small villages. The typical

Korean village consists of a cluster of mud-walled houses, almost all of which are thatched. The floors of most Korean homes are of mud, hard-packed and clean. The kitchen floor is at a lower level than the rest of the house. This is related to the heating of the house; the flues from the kitchen stove run under the bedroom in order to heat it, and finally converge into a separate round chimney of stone and clay, from which projects a tile tub. Each village is an almost independent social unit and retains much the same democratic flavour it has always known. The buildings are drab and monotonously similar, in contrast to the women's clothes, which are gay and bright.

Northeast Korea

"In the Northeast the country is quite different in appearance from the rest. The terrain is wilder, much more rugged and, because it was not fought over, is greener and more heavily timbered. We spent two nights at a government tourist hotel at a place called Mount Sorak, which could have been in the Canadian Rockies. The warming effect of the Japan Current is not so apparent here and temperatures are some degrees lower than on the West Coast. Iron ore occurs in a number of isolated pockets, and mining for export to Japan is a variation from farming and fishing. Gold, graphite, lead, tungsten, iron ore and coal have been profitably mined at one time or another. The road to Mount Sorak *via* Chun Chon and Inje was a triumph of engineering. The highest pass took us 3,200 meters above sea-level. For exciting motoring and breathtaking scenery, this part of Korea would be hard to beat.

"At the seacoast near Mount Sorak, we were fortunate to see a co-operative project to gather seaweed. About 200 people — male and female and ranging in age from the early teens to the seventies or more — were collecting seaweed, standing waist-deep in the incoming tide. Earlier in the day boats had passed along the beach some distance from the shore dragging a device to cut the seaweed, which was carried ashore by the tide and was now being gathered. Two types were collected; one was for human consumption (it looked like celery and was eaten raw) and the other for fertilizer. There is a considerable fishing industry along this coast, cod and octopus being the principal catch. Fishing techniques are generally primitive and yields per man employed are low.

Growing Silk Industry

"Silk culture is gaining popularity in many parts of Korea, where it has been found an excellent cash crop capable of bringing income during the period between the sowing and harvesting of cereals. So far, the scale of production is small but it is growing rapidly and is receiving government support. Evidence of the extent of the industry was provided by the number of mulberry trees planted about the country.

"While there are many rivers in Korea, none is large or navigable except for short stretches and for very small craft. All are subject to considerable variation

in flow, depending on rainfall. During heavy rains (generally associated with typhoons), flooding is a serious problem, and there have been a number of disasters of national order, particularly since the destruction of the forests has expedited runoff. The bulk of the rain falls in July and September; in June we passed many rivers which, for lack of rainfall, had become a series of disconnected pools in a sandy waste. From the air, empty riverbeds were more in evidence than blue water.

"A feature of the Korean landscape, whether from the air or road, is the large number of graves. It had been the practice in earlier times for the families of a deceased person (and, in particular, when he had been the head of a family) to consult a geomancer to determine a suitable location for the grave. A fee was charged for this service, the main purpose of which was to find a spot where the deceased would be happy. If those who survived the deceased should subsequently encounter any ill fortune, the chances were that this was because the ancestor was not happy where he was buried and a reburial would be ordered. For this reason, the graves were invariably in the choice locations, more often than not taking out of cultivation valuable and scarce arable land. The result was so serious that the Government has attempted to stamp out the practice and to compel internments in approved cemeteries.

Cheju Island

"The bulk of Korea consists of sedimentary rock. The island of Cheju is an exception. This island, about 115 miles south of the southwestern tip of Korea, is of recent volcanic origin. It provides excellent pasturage land, and offers a good location for a profitable livestock-breeding industry. The original volcano (Mount Hanla) rises to a height of 1,950 meters, the slopes being green and lush. All land above 600 feet is common land for use by the inhabitants for grazing their cattle, pigs and sheep. The character of the rock and soil determine the character of agriculture on the island. The scoria-type base means that water runs through so that wet rice is virtually impossible to grow. The main crop is sweet potatoes, which six factories convert to alcohol and starch. The governor described to us a 20-year development programme for the island based on livestock, tourism, semi-tropical fruit cultivation, and fishing. There is much to be done as, while the essentials are all present, techniques are archaic. For example, 28,000 women earn a living diving off the coast for abalone. Shortage of fresh water is a problem only likely to be solved by expensive catchment-area construction or by a desalinization process.

"While we saw no evidence of starvation in Korea, it is clear that the great mass of people live a marginal existence. Such a situation is responsible for a total absence of waste. If the streets are free from waste paper, it is because it is all being picked up and re-pulped. Every scrap of wood is utilized. Bullock carts, which are a common means of conveyance in Seoul and throughout the country, are equipped with metal scrapers to collect any manure that might be dropped *en route*. Once, when we stopped for sandwiches and beer along the

road, a group of children appeared who fought over possession of the empty beer cans. These have a ready market all over the country, fetching about 2½ cents Canadian per tin. They are flattened out and used for a variety of purposes, from making toys to providing roofs and sidings for buildings.

Rising Standard of Living

"After almost 40 years of occupation by Japan and a bitter three-year struggle against a Communist onslaught from the North, Korea is beginning to pick up steam on its road to higher living standards for its people. Although the Korean economy is not yet in the 'take-off' stage, the results of postwar effort are finally beginning to have some effect. In the past ten years the GNP has risen 62 per cent, industrial production 251 per cent, hydro-electric power output 46 per cent, thermal-electric power 1,341 per cent, and exports 391 per cent. The number of schools now stands at 6,984, up 29 per cent over ten years earlier. Student registration is up 75 per cent at 5,929,000. Countless other developments bear witness to national recovery. Many of these appear insignificant in themselves but, in the aggregate, they contribute to national recovery. For example, the Korean War resulted in the destruction of almost every mature tree in the path of the Communist invaders from the 38th Parallel to the Pusan Perimeter. In addition to the timber resources thus destroyed, the whole character of the country was altered — erosion was speeded up, soil moisture retention was impaired, and irrigation water supplies threatened. However, a nation-wide reafforestation programme is beginning to bear fruit, and hillsides which a few year ago were only rock and sand are now covered with conifers.

"Korea faces a difficult future, more because of the threat from the North than from anything else. If the country could be freed from the burden of maintaining a 600,000-man army in a state of continual readiness, resources could be devoted to more productive activities. Investment capital is needed if the nation's standards are to rise above what will always be a difficult agricultural economy. Industrialization has a future because the infrastructure is there (power, communications, etc.). However, as long as the country is militarily threatened, overseas capital will be hard to attract."

Soviet Visit to Canadian North

AN IMPORTANT step was taken in the field of scientific and technical exchanges between Canada and the U.S.S.R. recently when the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the Honourable Arthur Laing, was host to Mr. Andrei I. Slivinsky, Vice-Chairman of the State Construction Committee (Goss-troy) and a member of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

It was the second time that a member of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. had visited Canada. An engineer and construction specialist himself, Mr. Slivinsky was accompanied by five experts in the field of construction in permafrost areas during his 18-day tour in Canada last August. The Soviet delegation, guided in the North by the Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Mr. Ernest A. Coté, visited Churchill, Fort Smith, Pine Point, Hay River, Inuvik, Yellowknife, Whitehorse and Mayo, where Canadian experts are faced with problems similar to those encountered by their Soviet colleagues in places like Irkutsk, Bratsk, Yakutsk and Norilsk.

During their tour of Canada, the six Soviet construction experts were offered opportunities to discuss technical problems with Canadian technicians, not only in the North but also in the larger cities. On his return to Ottawa, Mr. Slivinsky held further discussions with the Department of Northern Affairs on the possibility of continuing to develop exchanges between Canada and the Soviet Union in fields related to construction under permafrost conditions.



The Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the Honourable Arthur Laing, holds a press conference in Ottawa with members of the Soviet team of northern experts following their 18-day tour of Canada. Left to right— Mr. G. V. Porkhaev; Mr. Andrei Slivinsky; Mr. Laing; Professor P. I. Melnikov.

Canadian Aid to Caribbean Countries

THE SECRETARY of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, and His Excellency V. H. MacFarlane, High Commissioner for Jamaica in Canada, recently signed agreements by which Canada would make available up to \$1,625,000 in special loan funds to Jamaica under Canada's external aid programme. The loans will be used to finance the construction of the Olivier Bridge over the Johnston River and to provide services in a new housing development near Kingston. These agreements are the first of their kind between Canada and Jamaica under the special loan programme, which offers funds free of interest with a maturity of 50 years and a ten-year period of grace.

Earlier this year, similar agreements were signed by Mr. Martin and His Excellency Donald Granado, High Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago in Canada, providing loans of up to \$2,315,000 to finance an extensive resources survey.

Canada's aid to countries of the Caribbean is now running at more than \$9 million a year.



Mr. Martin (right) and Mr. MacFarlane are shown in this photograph in conversation after signing the Canada-Jamaica special loan agreements.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

UN General Assembly, twentieth session: New York, September 21

International Telecommunication Union, Plenipotentiary Conference: Montreux, September 14 - November 12

FAO biennial conference: Rome, November-December

Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Karachi, November 15 - December 2

ILO Governing Body: Geneva, November 16-19

ICOSOC, resumed 39th session: mid-November

OECD Ministerial Meeting: Paris, November 25-26

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND SEPARATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. L. J. Wilder posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, effective September 2, 1965.

Mr. A. J. Hicks posted from the Canadian Embassy, Leopoldville to Ottawa, effective September 6, 1965.

Miss M. Fletcher posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective September 6, 1965.

Mr. A. W. Sullivan posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, effective September 9, 1965.

Mr. R. P. Gilbert posted from the Canadian Embassy, Prague, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nicosia, effective September 13, 1965.

Mr. J. Schioler posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nicosia, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective September 20, 1965.

Mr. J. B. Bryson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective September 23, 1965.

Miss K. C. Cantlie posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective October 5, 1965.

Mr. J. S. Roy posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective October 9, 1965.

Mr. A. Bernier posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, effective October 13, 1965.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII, No. 11

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Disarmament Negotiations

GENEVA, JULY 27 TO SEPTEMBER 16, 1965

AFTER a delay associated, among other things, with the inability of the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly to debate substantial issues, including disarmament, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC)¹ resumed its meetings in Geneva on July 27, 1965. In the interval, in the spring of 1965,² the United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC) had held a useful session in New York.

On resumption, the ENDC had before it — in addition to the various proposals on general and complete disarmament and partial (or collateral) measures that had been put forward from time to time by various members — the two resolutions adopted by the UNDC. One, contained in document UNDC/224, recommended that the UN General Assembly give urgent consideration to the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference to which all countries would be invited. This resolution was not addressed to the ENDC and, although during the debates a number of representatives indicated their countries' views on the proposal, it did not come in for significant discussion and is, accordingly, not dealt with in this article. It need only be recalled in passing that Canada voted for the UNDC resolution and that the Canadian Government finds the suggestion of considerable interest and worthy of the most careful study, as stated by its representative in the ENDC on August 5.

The second resolution, contained in document UNDC/225, was addressed directly to the ENDC. It recommended the early reconvening of the ENDC in order to pursue the question of general and complete disarmament and certain tension-reducing measures. It also recommended that the Disarmament Committee accord special priority to developing a comprehensive test-ban treaty and measures to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In the absence of a formal agenda for this session of the ENDC, delegations have been free to choose their own subjects for discussion. Following the recommendations of Resolution 225, however, debate centred largely on nuclear tests and non-dissemination. This course was consistently supported by the Western members of the Committee.

At several points during the session, the Communist delegations made polemical attacks on Western policies, and in particular on the actions of the United States in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. They attempted to persuade the Conference that such events demonstrated the need to concentrate attention on the familiar Soviet proposals that all countries withdraw their troops from foreign

¹Countries participating in the last session were Brazil, Britain, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, India, Italy, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Roumania, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the U.A.R., and the U.S.A. Though also a member, France did not participate in the work of the Committee.

²For an outline of its discussions, see *External Affairs*, August 1965, Pp. 336-342.

territories and that all foreign bases be evacuated, as well as on the holding of a world conference to produce a convention that would prohibit the use of nuclear weapons. Non-aligned representatives in the ENDC generally confined themselves to expressions of regret over the situation in Vietnam and elsewhere, and devoted the major part of their statements to the two topics recommended by the UNDC for priority attention.

Cessation of Nuclear-Weapon Tests

In Resolution 225, the UNDC urged the Disarmament Committee to give first priority to considering the question of extending the partial test-ban treaty of 1963, which prohibits tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, so as to outlaw underground tests as well. All the non-aligned representatives in the ENDC have treated this subject as the most urgent item before the Committee, many referring to earlier suggestions for making progress by, for example, the extension of the partial test ban to include a prohibition of underground tests above a certain seismic magnitude, or "threshold" (the figure usually suggested is 4.75 on the scale of magnitude in common use among seismologists), which could be controlled by national means of detection alone. Others have suggested spreading a quota of "on-site" inspections over several years, instead of setting a yearly quota.

On September 7, the Soviet representative referred to a statement by the United Arab Republic in which the latter had supported the threshold proposal and also suggested a moratorium on all tests pending agreement on a comprehensive ban. Omitting the third point in the U.A.R. statement (regarding the desirability of exchanges of scientific information) and linking the threshold and moratorium more closely than the U.A.R. had done, the Soviet representative said his delegation could agree to the "U.A.R. proposal" as a compromise, i.e. in lieu of demanding a ban on all underground tests, using only national means of verification. A number of Western representatives pointed out that this did not appear to represent any change in essence in the Soviet position, as the effect of the "compromise" proposal would be the same as the former one. Western representatives have also reiterated their opposition to an unverified moratorium. As the United States pointed out, this opposition was based on the recollection that the last moratorium on nuclear testing — from late 1958 to the end of August 1961 — had been broken unilaterally by the U.S.S.R.

Identification of Seismic Events

It will be recalled that, some time ago, the Soviet Union went back on its earlier agreement to permit a small number of "on-site" inspections annually in conjunction with a comprehensive test ban. It has since insisted that national means of verification are adequate, but has never been willing to provide the scientific and technical information to substantiate this contention. Western representatives, on the other hand, have pointed out that the present state of the technique of detecting and identifying underground seismic events is not adequate to distinguish

between underground nuclear explosions and some earthquakes. As a result, a certain number of "on-site" inspections are still required to convince parties to a treaty that an unidentified underground seismic event is an earthquake and not a nuclear test.

New Techniques

The West devoted considerable effort at this session to outlining in detail the work that had gone into preparing, and the results that could be expected from, the programme for improving techniques of detecting and identifying underground events. The British delegation tabled notes on the encouraging results in the long-range field of intensified seismic research in Britain with the array technique and improved instrumentation developed during the last few years. The U.S. representative described the results his country hoped could be obtained from the establishment of a world-wide network of very large seismic arrays. (One such array has been set up in Montana.) With such a system, it would be possible to determine the nature of a substantially greater proportion of seismic events than at present. However, 20 per cent of underground events in the range above a few kilotons could not be identified by seismographic instruments alone and some "on-site" inspections would therefore, still be required.

Regarding the notion of a "threshold", Western representatives have explained that present scientific knowledge is not adequate to permit the indisputable determination of such a magnitude; for example, the same seismic event may give different readings on seismometers in different parts of the world, depending on a number of factors. The basic conclusion drawn by Western representatives is that there should be an exchange of scientific and technical information in order to clarify the position with regard to the verification of a comprehensive test ban. All non-aligned delegations have supported this suggestion, several pointing out to the U.S.S.R. that, if it really wished a test-ban treaty, it should be prepared to accept such risks as might conceivably be involved in technical talks. So far, the Soviet Union has given no indication that it is prepared to do so.

At the meeting on August 10, Sweden put forward a proposal for the establishment of a "club" to detect — but not specifically to identify (which is much more difficult) — underground events. The "detection club" would be composed of a number of countries with advanced seismological installations; the data obtained from each station would be fed into a common pool. There could be a central organ to co-ordinate the work of compilation. Information thus obtained would be available to any country that wished to obtain it. This idea has been welcomed by all the other non-aligned countries and by the West. At the meeting on September 9, the Canadian representative said:

Canada's geographical position and the development of seismological science in our country are such that we may be able to play a useful part in the building up of any world-wide system of reporting of seismic events and detecting underground nuclear explosions. . . . Canada has already contributed in various ways to experiments in improving detection and identification techniques which have been spoken about in this Committee. I feel that I can

assure the Committee that our country would be prepared to play an appropriate part in any arrangements that might be agreed on for maintaining verification apparatus for a comprehensive test ban, and we should be ready to engage in any discussions on this matter that might be proposed.

In a joint memorandum issued at the end of the session, the eight non-aligned countries outlined their position on the cessation of nuclear tests. The memorandum said that a comprehensive test ban would also constitute a measure toward the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It noted the indications of improvement in the techniques of detection and identification of underground tests. The eight, it stated, "urge the nuclear powers to take immediate steps to reach an agreement to ban all nuclear-weapon tests". "They still believe", the memorandum went on, "that agreement on a treaty banning underground tests could be facilitated by the exchange of scientific and other information between the nuclear powers or by the improvement of detection and identification techniques, if necessary. Meanwhile, they reiterate their appeal to the powers concerned to suspend forthwith nuclear-weapon tests in all environments. In order to assist the nuclear powers in observing suspension of underground tests, the non-aligned delegations stress the advantages that would accrue from international co-operation in the work of seismic detection".

Non-Proliferation

One of the most important events of the session was the tabling on August 17 by the United States, supported by the other three Western delegations, of the text of a draft treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. This draft, the product of intensive discussion among Western countries, in which Canada played an active role, represented an important step forward in the work of the ENDC, as it provided a concrete text on which to focus discussion. It indicated that the West was prepared to negotiate seriously on this vital subject.

In a statement issued on August 17 welcoming the draft, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, said:

The Canadian Government supports these proposals and commends them to the serious attention of all governments and peoples. . . . Canada has for some time advocated an early beginning of serious negotiation toward international action to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. We prepared a draft treaty of our own for the purpose of discussion with our allies. In this way we intended to stimulate thought through friendly consultation with other governments and so help to encourage progress in this important field. . . .

It is gratifying that a number of ideas which the Canadian Government has been advancing over the past several months are reflected in the draft treaty which has now been tabled. The central one is a non-dissemination formula based on the "Irish resolution" of 1961, which called upon all states to conclude an international agreement to refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear weapons and from transmitting information necessary for their manufacture, with reciprocal obligations for the non-nuclear powers. There is also a provision for co-operation by signatories in applying international safeguards to all their peaceful nuclear activities. . . .

The heart of the Western position is that the formula in Articles I and II of the U.S. draft treaty effectively prevents the further spread of nuclear weapons. In drafting this portion of the treaty, Western representatives had very much in

mind the assertions of Soviet spokesmen that proposals such as those for a Multilateral Nuclear Force, an Atlantic Nuclear Force or similar arrangements for sharing nuclear arms would contribute to their dissemination. Under Article I of the U.S. draft, the nuclear powers would undertake not to transfer nuclear weapons into the control of other states, either directly or indirectly through a multilateral alliance. They would also undertake to do nothing to cause an increase in the total number of states or other organizations with the independent power to use nuclear weapons. In addition, they would commit themselves not to assist any other state in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Reciprocal obligations in respect of the non-nuclear powers are contained in Article II.

Clearly, these articles would prevent the transfer of nuclear weapons into the national control of any non-nuclear country and would also prevent any non-nuclear country from acquiring such weapons through manufacture. Moreover, the language of Articles I and II would prohibit the transfer of nuclear weapons indirectly, through a military alliance such as NATO, into the national control of any country not possessing them. These articles would also prohibit any other action that would cause an increase in the total number of states and other organizations having independent power to use nuclear weapons. Since there are at present five nuclear powers, any action that would increase the number of international entities with the power to use nuclear weapons beyond the present five would also be prohibited. The only foreseeable way, therefore, in which a new association having independent power to use nuclear weapons could come into existence would be through the voluntary transfer by one of the present nuclear powers to the new international entity of its stockpiles of nuclear weapons, together with its authority to control the use of such weapons.

In arriving at this formulation, Western representatives had in mind the importance at the present stage in world history of not embodying in a treaty on non-proliferation a provision that might erect a barrier to the free evolution of political, economic and social institutions as desired by peoples and governments throughout the world. In the period since the end of the Second World War, the countries of Europe especially but those in other regions as well — for example, in Africa — have from time to time created new international machinery for closer cooperation in dealing with specific problems and have also discussed proposals for new institutions to regulate their affairs on a regional basis. In general, Canadian governments have welcomed moves in this direction as contributing to the strengthening of regional social and economic development, and thus to world stability and the maintenance of international peace and security. To incorporate in a general international treaty of indefinite duration language that might impede the creation of new institutions, including collective defence arrangements, provided always that such arrangements would not constitute nuclear proliferation, seemed to Western representatives a step incompatible with the fundamental interests not only of members of the Alliance but also of other nations.

During discussions in the ENDC, the United States representative stated

clearly that U.S. atomic energy legislation, taken in conjunction with the U.S. draft treaty, ensured that non-nuclear countries within NATO could not obtain "access to" — the general and rather vague phrase used by the Soviet representative — or, more precisely and more importantly, control over and the power to use nuclear weapons so far as his Government was concerned through nuclear sharing arrangements under discussion within the Alliance. The British representative, having noted that a new international entity with the power to use nuclear weapons could not, under the U.S. draft treaty, come into being unless one of the existing nuclear powers had simultaneously or previously abandoned its independent nuclear capability, went on to record the "irrevocable opposition of my Government to any arrangement which would have the effect of making the use of nuclear weapons subject to a majority vote, as distinct from a unanimous vote or at least a vote in which existing nuclear countries have the power of veto".

Western spokesmen also pointed out that NATO was an evolving alliance, which could not accept any Soviet condition that it should maintain the *status quo* forever — a condition implicit in Soviet demands that arrangements enabling members to share in collective defence arrangements involving nuclear weapons should be abandoned as a pre-condition to Soviet participation in a non-proliferation agreement. NATO was based on the conception of shared responsibilities — there were no inferior partners; these principles applied to all its members.

On August 31, the Soviet representative noted that: "The discussion which has taken place so far, both in the ENDC and outside it, on the question of the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons points to the fact that, as yet, we have no common basis for agreement on this matter". On September 7, the Soviet representative agreed that the United States draft would ban the dissemination of nuclear weapons by "the direct transfer by nuclear powers of such weapons to non-nuclear states, the transfer of such weapons through military alliances to the national control of non-nuclear states, and the creation by non-nuclear states of their own nuclear weapons". But, he maintained, this draft would legalize the establishment of multilateral nuclear forces, which, in the Soviet view, would allow the Federal Republic of Germany and other non-nuclear member states of NATO access to nuclear weapons. The final word from the Soviet representative in ENDC was to reject the U.S. draft as a basis for serious negotiation.

On a subject as important as that of non-dissemination, of course, the views of the U.S.S.R. and its allies are not the only ones that must be considered, and provisions to meet the concerns of the non-aligned countries were, therefore, incorporated.

At the end of the session, the non-aligned countries summed up their views on non-dissemination in a memorandum that described the basic approach of the eight to this question as follows:

A treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is not an end in itself but only a means to an end. That end is the achievement of general and complete disarmament and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament. The eight delegations are convinced that measures to pro-

hibit the spread of nuclear weapons should therefore be coupled with or followed by tangible steps to halt the nuclear arms race and to limit, reduce and eliminate the stocks of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery.

At the final meeting of the session, the Canadian representative indicated that that approach to the problem corresponded to the one advocated by the Canadian Government and was one that commanded wide support throughout the world. "It provides a clear indication of the direction in which our efforts must be pursued," he said.

At the meeting on September 14, the Italian representative tabled a draft unilateral declaration under which non-nuclear states would undertake, for a limited time, to renounce the right to acquire nuclear weapons. The idea had been presented to the Committee by the Italian Foreign Minister on July 29 and had received favourable comment from a number of non-aligned countries. The Italian representative recognized that the declaration would not provide a complete solution to the non-dissemination question, and should not be considered as an alternative to the U.S. draft treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. Other Western members of the Committee have recommended that the Italian draft be given careful study as a possible interim approach to the permanent solution of the non-proliferation problem by means of an international treaty.

General and Complete Disarmament

Perhaps because of the recommendation of the UNDC already referred to or because it was realized that this session was bound to be relatively short, delegations have devoted little time and attention to this subject. Western speakers, as indicated, endeavoured to focus attention on non-dissemination and the comprehensive test ban. Some representatives of non-aligned countries referred briefly to proposals for the establishment of a working group to deal with the question of reducing the number of nuclear-weapon carriers. On several occasions, Communist spokesmen asserted that the fact that the West was devoting its attention to collateral measures demonstrated that it did not really accept the goal of general and complete disarmament. In reply, the West reiterated its adherence to this ultimate aim, but pointed out that, under the present world circumstances, it was more realistic to discuss partial measures. In fact, if not in theory, this view is held by Communist delegations as well.

Conclusion

With the approach of the twentieth session of the UN General Assembly, the ENDC decided to adjourn on September 16. It was agreed that the Committee should hold its next meeting as soon as possible after the disarmament debate at the General Assembly; the precise date will be chosen by the Co-Chairmen (U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) after consultation with the members of the Committee.

In the opinion of most delegations, the session, though brief, was useful. While no specific agreements were reached, there were a number of positive develop-

ments which hold promise for progress in future negotiations. The U.S. draft non-dissemination treaty has been tabled and a preliminary exchange of views between East and West obtained. There was further clarification of the present state of the nuclear-test detection technique. There also appeared to be some prospect of discussions looking toward the establishment of a "detection club". It should be underlined that the increasing value of contributions by the non-aligned countries provides an important moderating element in the Committee's deliberations. All members of the Committee recognized that it was important to continue talks on disarmament during a period when the international scene was somewhat over-cast. In this regard, the atmosphere in the Committee remained generally good throughout the session. Although, at the final meeting, a number of Communist representatives attempted to paint the results of the session in dark colours, they joined in a final report to the General Assembly that said:

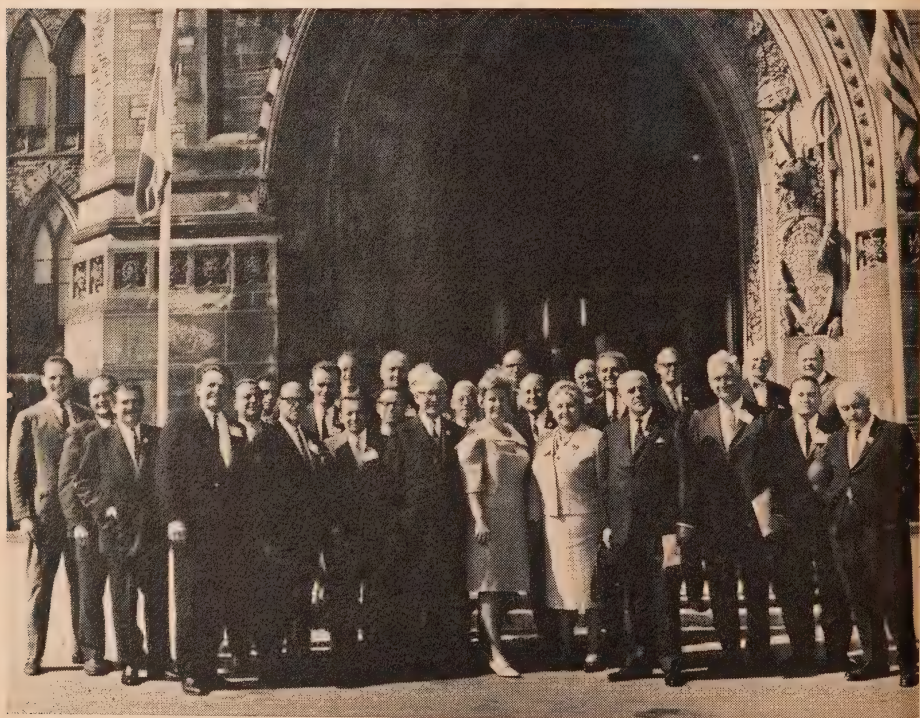
The members of the Committee believe that the extensive discussions of major problems relating to certain collateral measures were particularly valuable in clarifying the respective points of view of member governments. The Committee believes that these discussions and exchanges of view may facilitate agreement in the further work of the Committee.

Inter-Parliamentary Union

FIFTY-FOURTH CONFERENCE

THE MANY problems facing the United Nations, particularly those of keeping the peace, were considered by the delegates to the Fifty-Fourth Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, held in the House of Commons in Ottawa from September 8 to 17, 1965. This Conference was the first to be held by the IPU in Canada since 1925. From the 41 national groups of which it consisted at that time, the organization has grown to embrace a membership of parliamentarians from 75 nations. Some 550 delegates from 61 national groups attended the September meeting. Represented for the first time were the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Nicaragua.

These meetings bring together representatives of parliaments rather than governments and their resolutions are in no way binding on the governments of the countries represented; they do, however, exert a considerable moral influence on powerful groups of law-makers throughout the world.



Members of the Canadian delegation to the Fifty-Fourth Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in front of the main entrance to the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa.

In his opening address Prime Minister L. B. Pearson said that the Conferences of the IPU demonstrated the worth of the parliamentary system and provided the opportunity for informal exchanges in which the parliamentarians of the world might discuss their best hopes and worst fears.

It was noted by the Honourable Paul Martin, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, that the IPU Conference created opportunities for the "objective study" of problems of immediate and common concern that was essential to any real negotiation on world issues. Mr. Martin emphasized the peace-keeping role of the United Nations, with particular reference to the long-term questions of responsibility for initiating and financing future peace-keeping operations. Canadian participation in peace-keeping operations, he said, was "based on the conviction that, if the United Nations membership means anything, it means that middle and smaller powers have rights and obligations with respect to the search for security".

Message from UN Secretary-General

The problems and potentials of the United Nations were summarized as follows in a speech read for Secretary-General U Thant of the UN, who was unable to attend the Conference because of the Kashmir situation, by Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs:

... it seems appropriate that all of us in public life should rededicate ourselves to, and reaffirm the validity and essentiality of, the objectives of peaceful settlement, collective security, economic and social justice and the regulation, reduction and elimination of armaments, especially the weapons of mass destruction. I have never tired of repeating the obvious fact that the United Nations will be as strong or as weak as its members wish it to be. On this occasion, I should like to appeal to you, who are the representatives in your respective national legislatures of the people of the United Nations, to view national actions against the international criteria of common interest, so that the United Nations can truly serve as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends.

A long debate on the topic "The United Nations, Instrument of International Co-operation for Peace and Disarmament" demonstrated international concern over the many-sided problems facing the world body. Among the problems discussed were: universal representation; Kashmir; Vietnam; the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and arms control leading to complete and effective disarmament; cost-sharing; the modification of the structure of the United Nations; technical assistance to under-developed countries; and the importance of co-operative action by large and small nations for the preservation of the original principles of the UN.

A Composite Resolution

Six resolutions on the UN debate topic, which had been submitted by Britain, Israel, Argentina, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R., were reduced to a composite draft that was adopted first by the Committee on Political Questions, International Security and Disarmament and then, on September 17, by the Conference itself, by a vote of 545 in favour, none against, with five abstentions. This

resolution, in addition to supporting the 1961 "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations", the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the achievement of independence by a number of former colonial territories since the adoption by the UNGA of the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", invited all states "to abide by the principles of the United Nations in their international relations and, in particular, to respect the principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of states in order that all peoples may freely decide their own future without pressure, threat or use of force".

Major UN Problems Solved

The delegates observed that the IPU had recently encouraged the successful solution of two major UN problems. The first had to do with the enlargement of the Security Council and ECOSOC, which had been called for by a resolution approved at the 1964 Conference in Copenhagen. This change had subsequently been effected by the ratification of the necessary amendments to the UN Charter. The second problem concerned the resumption of the normal functioning of the General Assembly, an appeal for which had been made on April 24, during the spring meeting of the IPU Council in Dublin. Here, too, success had been achieved, when it was agreed, on September 1, that the Assembly should carry on its work normally, that Article 19 of the Charter should not be invoked with regard to the financing of UNEF and ONUC, and that the financial difficulties of the UN should be solved through voluntary contributions by member states.

A draft resolution entitled "New Prospects for International Economic Relations" was presented by the Economic and Social Committee. It expressed approval for the recommendations of the UN Conference on Trade and Development and emphasized the urgent need for action on an international scale to speed up the economic and social progress of the developing countries and to remove obstacles to international trade. The resolution laid particular stress on the importance of stabilizing primary-product prices at fair and remunerative levels and of removing tariff and non-tariff barriers affecting trade in manufactured articles needed by developing countries.

Collaboration with ILO

A message from the Director-General of the International Labour Organization emphasized the continuing need to raise the standard of living of workers by international agreement and to expand the economic and social development of under-developed countries. The message urged the reinforcement of the collaboration between the IPU and ILO.

The Conference adopted a draft resolution on the Kashmir problem submitted by the Inter-Parliamentary Council, containing a declaration of good wishes to the UN Secretary-General, U Thant, in his efforts to effect peace between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Two draft resolutions drawn up by committees at the spring meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Council in Dublin were submitted to the Conference and accepted unanimously for vote without debate. They dealt with the relations between the Inter-Parliamentary Union and UNESCO, and with a topic entitled "The Use of Television and other Modern Technical Media for the Education of Children and Adults in a Spirit of International Peace and Friendship". Two further resolutions were unanimously approved after some initial opposition, when it was proposed that they be accepted without debate. The first, entitled "The Demographic Problems and the Forthcoming United Nations Conference on World Population", recommended that the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies expand the assistance they were prepared to give, at the request of governments, in the development of statistics, research and action programmes relating to population problems. The second, "The Problem of Apartheid in the Light of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter", declared that *apartheid* was a grave crime against humanity.

Strengthening Parliamentary Institutions

In the debate on the topic "Means of Strengthening Effectiveness of Parliamentary Institutions", the Conference heard an address by the Honourable Alan A. Macnaughton, Speaker of the House of Commons, who outlined Canadian experience in strengthening parliamentary institutions. It was clear from the discussion that delegates were in substantial agreement that a "crisis of parliamentarianism" existed that must be met by such means as a reorganization of existing functions, the development of information services and the rehabilitation of the role of parliamentarian in the process of government. One of these aims has already been realized in the opening this year of the International Centre for Parliamentary Documentation in Geneva, the object of which is the systematic collection of information on the organization and functioning of representative institutions throughout the world. Hope was expressed that a new edition of the comparative study *Parliaments*, which is being prepared by the Centre, would appear early in 1966.

In its closing resolution, the Conference, after expressing its thanks for the warm welcome the Union had received in Canada, requested the President of the Canadian group to ask the Government of Canada to transmit the resolutions adopted by the Conference to the Secretary-General of the United Nations so that they might be brought officially to the attention of all UN members. This attempt to bring about a more meaningful association between the IPU and the UN was a fitting close to a Conference dedicated in large part to the necessity of achieving international co-operation and peace.

Members of Canadian Delegation

Senator J-M. Dessureault, President of the Canadian Inter-Parliamentary Group, was President of the Conference. The Honourable Maurice Bourget, Speaker of the Senate, and the Honourable Alan A. Macnaughton, Speaker of the House of

Commons, co-ordinated the Canadian Government's job as host. The Canadian delegation, led by Herman Batten, M.P., was composed of the Honourable Senators Aird, Baird, Beaubien, Boucher, Bourque, Brooks, Choquette, Croll, Denis, Flynn, Gouin, Hugessen, Lambert, Macdonald, McDonald, Quart, Taylor, Thorvaldson and Vien and, from the Commons, Mrs. Rideout and Mrs. Waddis, the Honourable Marcel Lambert, and Messrs Asselin, Béchard, Cameron, Caron, Chrétien, Coates, Côté, Deachman, Francis, Green, Grégoire, Honey, Macaluso, Matheson, Mullally, Nixon, Pilon, Prittie, Regan, Richard, Rock, Wahn, Whelan and Winkler. Mr. Ian Imrie was secretary to the delegation.

An extensive entertainment programme introduced delegates from abroad to the variety of talent, food and scenery Canada could offer. Among its highlights were special performances by the Royal Winnipeg Ballet and the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and an evening barbecue enlivened by folk-dancing and singsongs.

United Nations General Assembly

Nineteenth Session — Last Day

With a final meeting on September 1, 1965, to mark the formal conclusion of its nineteenth session, the United Nations General Assembly closed one of the most difficult chapters in its 20-year history. The session had been concerned almost entirely with the Article 19 issue, which involved the possible loss of voting rights by several members who had not paid their peace-keeping assessments. Seeking a solution to the crisis, the Assembly set up, in February, a Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. In August, after prolonged discussion, the Committee reported a consensus among its members that the question of the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter should not be raised with regard to the United Nations Emergency Force or the United Nations Operation in the Congo, that the General Assembly should carry on its work normally, and that the financial difficulties of the organization should be solved through voluntary contributions by member states. The nineteenth session accepted this report and, in his final address, the President of the nineteenth session, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana, noted that, in spite of the difficulties posed by the financing problem, there had, in fact, been some positive achievements. The most important, in his view, was the establishment of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, but the session had also witnessed the admission of three new members, the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) as an organ of the General Assembly, and the setting up of the United Nations Trade and Development Board.

Twentieth Session — First Month

The twentieth regular session of the General Assembly opened on September 21. The Assembly elected Mr. Amintore Fanfani, the Foreign Minister of Italy, as President, and then admitted The Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore to membership in the United Nations, bringing the total number of member states to 117. Canada joined in co-sponsoring the applications of The Gambia and Singapore.

Leading the delegations that will deal with the 108-item agenda will be seven heads of government, seven deputy heads and 81 foreign ministers, including the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs for Canada.

As is customary, the session began with a general debate, which afforded member states the opportunity to present their general views on major issues before the Assembly. Well before its conclusion on October 15, the seven main Committees had begun consideration of the items assigned to them. The First Committee (Political and Security) and the Special Political Committee began their respective deliberations by taking up the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons

and the report of UNRWA (Palestine Refugees), while the Second Committee (Economic and Financial) began its study of items dealing with the world economic situation, economic growth, aid and technology. Professor Ronald St. John MacDonald of Canada was elected rapporteur of the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural), which has an agenda of 16 items concerning refugees, discrimination, racial intolerance and human rights. By the middle of October, the Third Committee had adopted resolutions on assistance to nations in cases of natural disaster, a draft convention and declaration on religious intolerance, measures to implement the United Nations Declaration on Racial Discrimination and accelerate the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and a draft recommendation on marriage. These resolutions will be submitted to the plenary session for final approval.

On October 5, the Fourth Committee (Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories) opened its debate on the situation in Rhodesia. Dr. Stanley Haidasz, M.P., expressed the Canadian Government's concern over recent developments. He said that at the last two meetings of Commonwealth prime ministers there had been unanimous agreement among all countries of the Commonwealth that Rhodesia should proceed to independence only when sufficiently representative institutions had come into existence. The Prime Minister of Canada had made it clear at that time that Canada would not recognize the validity of a unilateral declaration of independence. Every effort had been made to warn the Rhodesian Government of the serious consequences of such an illegal act.

The Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) started its work with the 1966 Budget Estimates, while the Sixth Committee (Legal) addressed itself initially to the report of the International Law Commission.

Of particular importance was the visit to the General Assembly on October 4 of His Holiness Pope Paul VI. Since he spoke as one removed from the international political struggle yet deeply committed to the betterment of mankind and endowed with a perspective unique among the world's leaders, the Pontiff's simple plea for peace — "No more war, war never again" — had a profound impact. The President of the Assembly assured Pope Paul that his thoughts would long echo within that "*aula magna* of peace", the United Nations.

Visit to Canada by Yugoslav Parliamentarians

THE YUGOSLAV parliamentary delegation attending the Inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Ottawa from September 8 to 17 was invited by the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Commons, Senator the Honourable Maurice Bourget and the Honourable Alan Macnaughton, to tour Canada after the Conference as the official guests of the Canadian Parliament.

In presenting the invitation early this summer, the Speakers noted that, in October 1960, Canada had been honoured by a similar invitation to send a parliamentary delegation to Yugoslavia, and wished to return the warm and generous hospitality with which the Canadian parliamentarians had been received at that time.

The distinguished Yugoslav delegation was composed of Mr. Krste Crvenkovski, leader of the delegation, and Member of the Federal Assembly's Committee for Foreign Relations, Mr. Rados Jovanovic, Deputy to the Federal Assembly, Dr. Drazen Sesardic, Secretary of the Federal Assembly, Mr. Rato Dugonjic, Deputy to the Federal Assembly and President of the Republican Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Jozc Vilfan, Deputy to the Federal Assembly, and Dr. Dejan



Mr. Krste Crvenkovski (centre), leader of the Yugoslav delegation, with Mr. David D. Stupich (left), Member of the British Columbia Legislative Assembly, who is of Yugoslav descent, and Mr. Colin Cameron, Member of Parliament.

Kostic, Senior Counsellor of the Federal Assembly's Secretariat. The delegation was accompanied by Mr. Branko Milijanovic, Chargé d'Affaires *a.i.* of Yugoslavia in Ottawa.

From Ottawa the delegates went first to Cobourg, Ontario, where they were entertained at a buffet lunch by Senator the Honourable Arthur W. Roebuck, Senator the Honourable David Croll, Dr. Pauline Jewett, M.P., Mr. Russell Row, Member of the Ontario Legislature, His Worship Mayor J. A. Heenan of Cobourg and other officials.

In Toronto, the group was welcomed by Controller Margaret Campbell and shown the new City Hall.

At Kitchener, Ontario, where they stayed overnight, the Yugoslav visitors were guests at a dinner given by His Worship Mayor Keith Hymen, Dr. J. G. Hagey, President of the University of Waterloo, Dr. W. J. Villaume, President of Waterloo Lutheran University, Mr. Michael Weichel, M.P., and Mr. Keith Butler, Member of the Ontario Legislature. At Stratford, Ontario, they attended a performance of Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part I*.

The delegation flew next to Vancouver, British Columbia, where they were welcomed by Mr. Colin Cameron, M.P. After a tour of the city's famous Stanley Park, the University of British Columbia campus and residential areas of Vancouver, they rode the ski-lift to the top of Grouse Mountain, where they dined.

Continuing on their way, the delegates visited Nanaimo, on Vancouver Island, where they were greeted by His Worship Mayor P. Maffeo, toured the premises of the Harmac Pulp and Paper Company and enjoyed the hospitality of local residents of Yugoslav origin. Later, they were received by the Honourable R. G. Williston, B.C. Minister of Lands and Forests, and were shown round Victoria, the capital of the province.

Prevented by bad weather from flying to Quebec City, the delegates spent two days in Montreal, where they were received by Mayor Jean Drapeau and signed the Golden Book of the city. After a visit to Expo '67, they were given a lunch by the City of Montreal and Exhibition officials and inspected the Place des Arts.

During the course of the visit meetings were arranged for the group with the Honourable Alan Macnaughton and two Cabinet Ministers, the Honourable C. M. Drury, Minister of Defence Production, and the Honourable Jean-Luc Pépin, Minister without Portfolio.

On the last day of their visit, the Yugoslav delegates were received by Prime Minister L. B. Pearson, with whom they enjoyed a warm and friendly discussion of topics of mutual interest. Mr. Pearson recalled the two years he had spent in Macedonia during the First World War. The leader of the Yugoslav delegation, Mr. Crvenkovski, expressed the group's appreciation for the arrangements that had been made for the visit, and particularly for the conversations that had given the delegates such pleasure. He said he hoped that this meeting between Yugoslav and Canadian parliamentarians would help strengthen relations between their two countries.

International Civil Aviation Organization

FIFTEENTH ASSEMBLY

MONTREAL was the site in June 1965 of the fifteenth session of the Assembly, the plenipotentiary body of the International Civil Aviation Organization, which meets every three years.

The opening ceremonies on June 22 had special significance, since this was the twentieth anniversary of ICAO. Many persons prominent in Canadian public life, as well as in international affairs, attended. The Honourable J. W. Pickersgill, the Minister of Transport, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Government of Canada. He was accompanied by Dr. Stanley Haidasz, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Other speakers included Madame Claire Kirkland-Casgrain, the Minister of Transport and Communications for the Province of Quebec, and Monsieur Jean Drapeau, Mayor of Montreal. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, was represented by Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, Under-Secretary for General Assembly Affairs. In addition, Sir William Hildred, Director-General of the International Air Transport Association, and Mr. Adolph A. Berle Jr., Chairman of the Chicago Conference of November-December 1944 which founded ICAO, were present.

The meeting was attended by delegates from 102 of the contracting states. Five countries that are not members of ICAO and 14 international organizations were represented by observers. During the Assembly, Roumania joined ICAO, bringing the total membership to 110.

Brigadier C. S. Booth, leader of the Canadian delegation, was unanimously chosen President of the Assembly. Brigadier Booth who, until his recent retirement, was Senior Assistant Deputy Minister of Transport, is well-known in ICAO and international civil aviation circles.

Welcoming Address

In his address of welcome to the delegates, Mr. Pickersgill pointed out how much the average international air traveller was indebted to ICAO for the service he enjoyed:

I wonder how many of the people who travel the international air routes at great speed — and in safety and comfort — realize how much of this they owe to ICAO through its development of international standards. I am sure that the average airline passenger is inclined to think that breakfast in London and lunch in Montreal come about because of a difference of time zones and the technical miracle of subsonic flight. What he does not realize is that the most efficient aircraft flying at the greatest speed could not give him that service without great strides having been made in the fields of international co-operation and standardization. The international traveller now accepts as commonplace what would no doubt still be only an idea without the quiet accomplishments of the International Civil Aviation Organization over the past 20 years.



The Honourable J. W. Pickersgill, Canada's Minister of Transport (left), welcomes the delegates to the fifteenth session of the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal. Seated by the speaker are Madame Claire Kirkland-Casgrain, Minister of Transport and Communications for the Province of Quebec, and Mr. B. T. Twigt, Secretary-General of ICAO.

The Montreal Assembly contributed substantially to the "quiet accomplishments" of ICAO. It discussed a wide variety of international civil aviation problems and approved a series of policy resolutions to guide the work of the Organization in the technical, legal, economic and administrative fields during the next three years.

Technical Assistance Operations

The Assembly considered a comprehensive review of the technical-assistance activities of the Organization during the past 14 years and expressed satisfaction that these were benefiting the assisted states. The recipient states were asked to concentrate their requests for technical assistance on the ground services for civil aviation, including the training of personnel, and were invited to draw up long-range plans for that purpose. The Assembly also reminded the recipients of their obligation to provide the best qualified personnel possible to work with the internationally-recruited experts and take over eventually from them. Since many developing countries have difficulty in finding candidates with sufficient background in such subjects as mathematics and science, the Assembly suggested that

the United Nations be requested to give help by establishing or developing preliminary training schools to prepare students for subsequent technical training.

The introduction into commercial service of supersonic aircraft is one of the more important problems facing ICAO. On the basis of a report entitled *Review of the Economic Situation of Air Transport*, the Assembly asked the Organization to press forward with its studies in this field and to issue periodic reports.

The Assembly examined progress made in providing international civil aviation with adequate facilities and services to meet the increasingly exacting requirements brought about by high-performance aircraft and a great expansion in traffic. The current policy of isolating serious deficiencies and helping states to eliminate them is to be continued. The Assembly also pointed out the need for both "user" and "provider" states to give serious consideration to the economic justification of projected air-navigation facilities and services, and the Council was asked to assist states in their consideration and evaluation of the economic and financial aspects of regional plans.

Trend Forecasting

One of the functions of the ICAO Council in the economic field is to forecast developments likely to require action by the Organization. Contracting states also need global and regional forecasts of civil-aviation developments. The Assembly therefore requested the Council to prepare and maintain long and medium term forecasts of trends and developments in civil aviation of both a general and a specific nature, including, when possible, regional as well as world-wide data, and to make these available to members of the Organization.

The Assembly decided that ICAO should undertake studies to further the development of international air-passenger travel. These studies are to be conducted on a world-wide basis or by regions, priority being given to regional studies to meet the particular needs of developing nations, with the first to be applied to Africa.

The Assembly found that the state of implementation of the ICAO air-navigation plan in a number of regions left much to be desired. The Council was therefore directed to improve the guidance it provided for regional air-navigation meetings in respect of both planning and implementation.

Only Serious Political Issue

The question of South Africa's continued membership in ICAO was the only serious political issue raised at the Assembly. The African members sponsored a resolution to amend the Convention to provide for the suspension or exclusion from membership of any contracting state "whose government violates the principles laid down in the Preamble to this Convention and practises a policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination". In the Canadian view, this resolution dealt with a political issue, which should be treated in those organs of the United Nations concerned with political matters and not in a specialized body such as ICAO.

Accordingly, Canada voted against the resolution, which failed to achieve the required two-thirds majority; Canada abstained on a subsequent resolution, which carried, condemning South Africa's *apartheid* policy.

Three budgets to cover the costs of operation of ICAO for the years 1966, 1967 and 1968 were adopted. The net budgets (the totals to be paid by the contracting states, after miscellaneous revenue is deducted) are as follows (in U.S. dollars):

1966 — \$6,048,000.

1967 — \$5,559,000.

1968 — \$5,515,000.

A new 27-member Council was elected for a three-year term. The following states were chosen:

Argentina	Czechoslovakia	Mexico
Australia	Federal Republic of Germany	Netherlands
Belgium	France	Nigeria
Brazil	India	Philippines
Britain	Italy	Spain
Canada	Japan	Sweden
Colombia	Kenya	Tunisia
Congo (Brazzaville)	Lebanon	United Arab Republic
Costa Rica	Malagasy Republic	United States of America

Canada has been a member of the Council since its establishment in 1947.

The general feeling of the delegates at the end of the Assembly on July 16 was that substantial progress had been made on a number of important technical problems affecting international civil aviation.

Further Canadian Aid to Tanzanian Forces

ON DECEMBER 8, 1964, Prime Minister L. B. Pearson announced that, at the request of the Government of Tanzania, Canada would assist in the development of the defence and security forces of that country. Canada would send to Tanzania about 30 advisory and training personnel and would make places available for Tanzanians in Canadian military establishments. In addition, the Canadian Government agreed in principle to assume the foreign-exchange costs of building a military training-centre in Tanzania.

Since January 1965, the Canadian Armed Forces Advisory and Training Team in Tanzania has been gradually brought up to full strength, and about 30 Tanzanians have received or are undergoing officer training in Canada. A small Canadian survey team has carried out in Tanzania a preliminary engineering study for the proposed training-centre.

Air Force Project

On April 6, 1965, it was announced that Canada had agreed in principle to meet a further Tanzanian request for support in the establishment of a military air wing. A Canadian Forces air-survey team visited Tanzania to assess requirements and



A group of military trainees just arrived in Canada from Tanzania.

determine what form Canadian assistance might take. Following extensive consultations with the Tanzanian authorities, the team recommended that the Canadian Government extend substantial equipment and training assistance in support of a five-year Tanzanian Air Force programme designed to give the Tanzanian forces an air-transport and liaison capability. On the basis of these recommendations, the Canadian Government formulated detailed assistance proposals, which were welcomed by Tanzania and announced on September 3, 1965. The Canadian equipment contribution, consisting mainly of medium and light military transport aircraft with support equipment and spares, will include up to four *Caribou* and eight *Otter* aircraft, which are particularly suited to Tanzanian requirements. In addition, Canada will help with the training of approximately 400 Tanzanian aircrew, groundcrew and support personnel, of whom half will train in Canada and half in Tanzania. Some 50 Canadian personnel will proceed to Tanzania in a non-operational advisory and training capacity.

This programme is designed to assist in the establishment of a self-sufficient air wing, with its own maintenance, technical and support personnel, and is expected to make a significant contribution to the effectiveness of the Tanzanian defence forces. Implementation of the Canadian offer is already well under way. By the end of October 1965, over 50 Tanzanian air-wing personnel were training in Canada and the movement of Canadian air advisers to Tanzania had begun.

World Congress on the Eradication of Illiteracy

AN UNUSUAL international conference, the World Congress of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy, was held in Tehran from September 8 to 19, 1965, under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and at the invitation of His Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah of Iran.

The conference was asked to consider the following matters:

- (a) the problem of mass illiteracy, which continues to impede social and economic progress in many parts of the world;
- (b) national plans to eradicate mass illiteracy in countries where it is still widespread and to exchange experience on the preparation and execution of such plans;
- (c) the manner in which plans for the eradication of illiteracy can more effectively contribute to social and economic progress and to the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade;
- (d) how national efforts to this end can be supplemented by intensified international action;
- (e) how to ensure the fullest support of public opinion and the active participation of the people of all countries in a world campaign for the eradication of mass illiteracy.

Canadian Delegation

Delegations from 85 member states of UNESCO and one associate member participated in the conference. Observers from a number of international organizations attended. Forty-five delegations were headed by ministers or persons of ministerial rank. The Canadian delegation consisted of Mr. Paul Malone, Canadian Ambassador to Iran (chairman), Dr. H. T. Coutts, Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, and Vice-President of the Canadian Education Association (vice-chairman), Mr. Joseph Pagé, Associate Deputy Minister of Education for the Province of Quebec, Mr. E. McEwen, Executive Director of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, and Professor I. Brecher, Director of the Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University. Mr. Jacques Montpetit of the Canadian Embassy acted as secretary.

The Congress provided a forum for the exchange of information and technical ideas among representatives of various countries engaged in literacy work. Its recommendations will not be binding on UNESCO, but they will undoubtedly stimulate the activities of that Organization in the promotion of literacy. Discussions during the Congress were noteworthy for the emphasis placed by developing countries on the necessity of increased contributions by developed countries to

education as a constituent part of programmes of economic development. The chairman of the Canadian delegation described to the plenary session, as follows, the way in which Canada was helping the developing countries to raise the level of literacy and the general level of education:

"Although Canada has not directly participated in literacy programmes *per se*, her aid programmes have traditionally emphasized educational activities which have a direct and indirect bearing upon literacy. By far the largest proportion of Canadian advisers sent abroad have been teachers, teacher-trainers and professors. Moreover, it is estimated that approximately one-third of the 2,000 development-assistance scholarships made available by Canada in the current year are directly associated with educational activities in the developing countries.

Important Group Programmes

"Special mention should be made of three group programmes which have been offered annually for a number of years. Courses in co-operative development and in labour leadership have implications for the development of literacy among productive workers. A course in social leadership is intended to prepare community development leaders for programmes of self-help and mutual help. It is a programme of adult education which begins in the economic field and leads the participants, including the illiterate, to the highest possible levels of performance through community development and organization. Canada also has provided advisers in the field of adult extension education and co-operative development.

"The continuing emphasis on education in Canada's foreign-aid programme is responsible for the keen interest the Canadian Government is taking in the deliberations of this conference. My Government is hopeful no spur-of-the-moment decisions will be taken which would interfere with the promising progress of UNESCO in the literacy field. The Government of Canada is impressed particularly with the significance of the five-year experimental programme of pilot projects which are to begin in eight countries in 1966. It considers the results of this programme will provide a sound basis for planning for a world literacy programme closely related to economic and social development and with sufficient scope and flexibility to make it adaptable to the special needs of each participating country. My delegation and I were impressed by the explanation the distinguished Director-General of UNESCO gave this afternoon of the implications of the experimental programme. Like him, we are hopeful the programme will help place literacy in a functional orbit and will inspire concerted action by humanity to give literacy programmes their due place in national programmes of economic and social development."

The Congress coincided with the observance in Iran of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the accession of the present Shah. A highlight of the programmes for both events was the attendance of His Majesty and members of delegations at a parade of 12,000 Literacy Corpsmen, the military conscripts trained to teach in Iranian villages. This impressive march-past demonstrated Iran's practical ap-

broach to the problems of overcoming illiteracy in remote areas. Delegates joined at the closing session in congratulating the Shah and the Government of Iran on their leadership not only in combating illiteracy in their own country but in providing inspiration for all countries facing such problems.

Responding to these sentiments of goodwill, the Prime Minister of Iran, Mr. Hoveyda, announced that Iran would put at the disposal of UNESCO an annual prize of one million old French francs (approximately \$2,500) to be awarded to a person or institution making outstanding achievements in combating illiteracy. Accepting on behalf of UNESCO, the Director-General said the annual prize would be called the "Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi Award" in honour of Iran's monarch.

Commander of Laotian Neutralist Forces Visits Canada

GENERAL Kong Le, Commander of the Neutralist Armed Forces of Laos, paid a visit to Canada from October 14 to 18, 1965. In Ottawa, he had informal talks with the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Marcel Cadieux, and other senior officials of the Department of External Affairs, as well as with the Chief of the Defence Staff and other senior officers at Canadian Forces Headquarters. General Kong Le also travelled to Quebec City, where he visited nearby Camp Valcartier, and Montreal. During a visit to Toronto, he toured the De Havilland Aircraft Plant.



In the photograph above, General Kong Le is shown being greeted on his arrival at Ottawa's Uplands Air Station by Mr. Klaus Goldschlag, Head of the Far Eastern Division of the Department of External Affairs. General Kong Le was also welcomed by Lieutenant-General R. W. Moncel, Vice-Chief of the Defence Staff (right), and Group Captain R. A. B. Ellis, Commanding Officer the Uplands Air Station (left).

Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council

The annual meeting of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council took place on September 22 and 23, 1965, at Kingston, Jamaica, at the invitation of the Jamaican Government. The Canadian delegation was led by the Honourable E. J. Benson, Minister of National Revenue, who was accompanied by officials from the Departments of Finance and External Affairs and from the Bank of Canada. The Council was established by the Commonwealth Conference of Trade and Finance Ministers held in Montreal in 1958 to co-ordinate the then existing arrangements for consultation and co-operation in economic matters among Commonwealth countries. The Council meets at both the ministerial level and at the level of senior economic officials. The results of the discussions of the recent meeting are summarized in the following communiqué, issued on September 23:

The Council meeting was opened by the Governor-General of Jamaica, His Excellency Sir Clifford Campbell. The meeting was held under the chairmanship of the acting Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Jamaica, the Honourable D. B. Sangster, at Kingston on September 22 and 23.

Nineteen independent countries of the Commonwealth were represented. The Minister of Finance from Singapore attended as an observer. The Premier of Barbados and a representative from Hong Kong were also present.

World Economy Discussed

The Council discussed developments in the world economy. Note was taken of the substantial rate of growth achieved by the industrial countries in 1964. Variations in the present position and prospects of individual industrial countries were noted and discussed. Concern was expressed at the slowing down of the current growth rate of developing countries following a substantial decline in cocoa and some other commodity prices. Ministers agreed that it was desirable to consider at an early date what action could be taken to work out arrangements to provide for more stable and acceptable price levels for commodities that are important to Commonwealth countries. It was agreed to invite the Commonwealth trade ministers to consider this problem at their forthcoming conference.

The balance-of-payments position and the prospects of the sterling area as a whole were reviewed by the Council. Ministers agreed that the prospects for the sterling-area balance of payments were now more favourable as a consequence of certain measures taken by the United Kingdom and noted with satisfaction the recent renewed strength of sterling.

The problem of international liquidity and matters relating to the improvement of the international monetary system were discussed. Ministers noted the measures taken to enlarge quotas in the International Monetary Fund by a general increase

of 25 per cent and expressed the hope that these would be completed early. They stressed the importance of achieving rapid progress in the international discussions on the improvement of the international monetary system, and they emphasized that any new arrangements for the provision of international liquidity must be designed to meet the needs of all countries, and that the International Monetary Fund should be closely associated with the working out of any new arrangements.

The Council welcomed the new emphasis in the World Bank's lending policies towards the important fields of agriculture and education in particular. Ministers stressed the importance of meeting the needs of these social sectors in the economies of developing countries if significant progress is to be made in solving their problems of under-development.

The Council noted the recent difficulties of developing countries in obtaining development finance in international capital markets. It was recognized that capital assistance to developing countries should be on terms such as would not impose an undue burden on their balance of payments. The meeting expressed its appreciation of the initiation by Canada of a programme for loans to developing countries on terms similar to those offered by the International Development Association and of the action of the United Kingdom in making available interest-free loans with long maturities to certain under-developed countries, as well as the fact that Australian and New Zealand aid was provided by way of grants.

Commonwealth Secretariat

The Council took note of the new development in consultation and co-operation in the Commonwealth with the establishment of the Commonwealth Secretariat. The Secretary-General was welcomed to the Council meeting. The hope was expressed that this machinery would provide a basis for strengthening the economic ties and prospects of the Commonwealth. Ministers recalled that the prime ministers' meeting of June 1965 considered that it would be desirable to exchange information on production and plans of their economies, so that opportunities for increase in trade should be used to the best advantage.

A progress report on the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan was presented by the Chairman of the Commonwealth Economic Committee. The Council noted with satisfaction the progress made in the operation of the plan for the economic development of Commonwealth countries in Africa.

The Finance Minister of Nigeria, on behalf of his Government, offered to arrange for the next meeting of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council to be held in Nigeria.

Ministers noted with great satisfaction the report which reached them during the meeting that a cease-fire between India and Pakistan had come into operation.

Ministers expressed appreciation of the efficient administrative arrangements for the conference made by the Government of Jamaica and of their kind and generous hospitality. Best wishes were conveyed for Jamaica's future and for the restoration to full health of her Prime Minister.

Canadian Painting Presented to the Pan-American Health Organization

A CANADIAN painting, the work of the young French-Canadian artist Jean McEwen, who is winning increasing recognition in North America and Europe, was presented recently to the Pan-American Health Organization by Canada's Minister of National Health and Welfare, the Honourable Judy LaMarsh. The presentation took place at a special ceremony in Washington, D.C., on September 27, which formed part of the inauguration of the combined sessions of the sixteenth meeting of the Directing Council and the seventeenth meeting of the Regional Committee of the World Health Organization for the Americas (better known as the PAHO). The painting will be hung in the new PAHO headquarters building.

The gift was chosen to represent the culture and art of the Canadian people. In her presentation address, Miss LaMarsh said she hoped that the painting's



Miss LaMarsh in conversation with Dr. Luther Terry, Surgeon-General (retired) of the United States Public Health Service after the presentation.

“vigour” would serve to remind the other countries of the Americas of their most northerly neighbour. The Minister spoke in English, French and Spanish.

The Pan-American Health Organization, the regional agency for WHO and a specialized agency of the Organization of American States, came into existence in 1902 as the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, the name still used for its secretariat. Canada, though not a member of the PAHO, maintains association with it through the WHO and has sent observers to its meetings since 1942.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

International Telecommunication Union, Plenipotentiary Conference: Montreux, September 14 - November 12

FAO biennial conference: Rome, November 20 - December 9

Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Karachi, November 15 - December 2

ILO Governing Body: Geneva, November 16-19

Second Special Inter-American Conference: Rio de Janeiro, November 17

ECOSOC, resumed 39th session: mid-November

Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Karachi, November 15 - December 2

OECD Ministerial Meeting: Paris, November 25-26

NATO Ministerial Meeting: Paris, December 14-16

OECD Ministerial Meeting on Science: Paris, January 12-13

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Vol. XVII, No. 12

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United Nations General Assembly

TWENTIETH SESSION — THE SECOND MONTH

DURING the second month of its twentieth session, the General Assembly took action on two items allocated specifically to it, and on a number of resolutions recommended by its various committees.

The Assembly adopted a resolution calling for co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity on October 11, 1965. This resolution requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to invite the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to attend sessions of the General Assembly as an observer. The Secretary-General is further requested to explore means of promoting co-operation between the two organizations.

Chinese Representation

Debate began on November 8 on the question of Chinese representation. Two draft resolutions were tabled under this item. The first, by which the General Assembly would reaffirm its 1961 decision that any proposal to change the representation of China was an important question as defined in Article 18 of the Charter, thereby requiring a two-thirds majority for adoption, was tabled by 11 countries (Australia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Italy, Japan, Madagascar, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States). A second draft resolution, co-sponsored by 12 countries (Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Pakistan, Roumania, Somalia and Syria) called for recognition of representatives of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful representatives of China in the United Nations and for the expulsion of "the representatives of Chiang Kai-Shek".

On November 17, the 11-power draft was adopted by a vote of 56 in favour (Canada) to 49 against, with 11 abstentions. As a result, the President announced that a two-thirds majority would be required for adoption of the 12-power draft. The second resolution was then put to a vote. It was defeated, 47 in favour, 47 opposed (Canada), with 20 abstentions. The General Assembly thus decided once again not to seat representatives of the Government of Communist China in the United Nations at the price of expelling the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China.

In a statement issued the same day, the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, explained Canadian policy on this question. He said that Canada would have welcomed the opportunity to see Communist China take a seat in the world organization had Peking made this possible, and continued:

If that has not yet happened, it is because Peking itself has set a price on participation which is unacceptable. In the view of the Canadian Government it is not for the United

Nations to accommodate itself to the views of a single nation, however powerful or populous. It is for Communist China to make that accommodation. Much to the regret of the Canadian Government there is no present evidence that she is ready to do so.⁽¹⁾

First Committee

The First Committee (Political and Security), after a slow start because of discussion on the order in which items allocated to it should be discussed, took up the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and other disarmament items. It adopted by a vote of 83 (Canada) in favour to none against, with six abstentions, a draft resolution calling on the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to give urgent consideration to the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons with a view to negotiating an international treaty on this subject. The Committee also began consideration of the item dealing with the proposed convening of a world disarmament conference.

Special Political Committee

The Special Political Committee began its discussions with the item dealing with Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). Two draft resolutions and a number of amendments were introduced. Statements on Item 101 (comprehensive review of peace-keeping operations) were made during intervals in the UNRWA debate.

Second Committee

The Second Committee (Economic and Social) concluded its general debate on October 22. After considerable discussion, agreement was reached on the composition of the governing council for the proposed UN Development Programme (UNDP). Other questions considered by the Second Committee during this period were Items 51 (Consolidation of the Special Fund and EPTA in a United Nations Development Programme), 47 (World Campaign for Universal Literacy), and 49 (Progress and Operations of the Special Fund).

Third Committee

Reports on a number of items dealt with by the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) were introduced in plenary by Professor Ronald St. John Macdonald of Canada, rapporteur of the Committee. The Assembly unanimously adopted the Third Committee's recommendations on measures to implement the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. A resolution on manifestations of racial prejudice and national and religious intolerance was also approved unanimously. This calls all governments and non-governmental organizations to educate public opinion in order to eradicate racial prejudice and religious intolerance. Also approved by unanimous vote was a resolution on the elimination of religious intolerance which asks the Human Rights Commission to complete a draft declaration and convention on this question by the 1966 Assembly session.

⁽¹⁾The complete text of the Minister's statement will be found on Page 510.

Another resolution, dealing with consent, minimum age, and registration of marriages, was approved by an Assembly vote of 97 in favour (Canada), none against, with two abstentions. As a result, each member state has been asked to give effect to the principles that no marriage should be entered into without the full and free consent of both parties, that a minimum age for marriage of not less than 15 years should be specified by each country, and that all marriages should be appropriately registered.

Fourth Committee

Events in Rhodesia continued to occupy the attention of the Fourth Committee. In early November, when a unilateral declaration of independence seemed imminent, the Committee adopted a resolution warning against UDI, which called upon Britain to employ all necessary measures, including military force, to implement a series of drastic steps, among others the immediate suspension of the 1961 Rhodesian constitution. This resolution came just as Prime Minister Wilson was engaged in last-ditch negotiations aimed at averting a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia. In the Canadian view, it was impractical and untimely and had the unfortunate effect of destroying the near-unanimity achieved on the Assembly's previous resolution of October 12. In plenary, the resolution was approved by a vote of 82 in favour and nine against (including Canada), with 18 abstentions.

Following the illegal seizure of independence by Premier Smith's government, the Assembly adopted a further resolution on November 11. The resolution condemned the unilateral declaration of independence by the Government of Southern Rhodesia and asked the Security Council to consider the situation as a matter of urgency. Canada voted in favour of this resolution, which was approved by 107 to two, with one abstention.

During the period covered by this report, the Assembly also approved by 90 votes to 11 (Canada), with 10 abstentions, a resolution on Aden, couched in extreme terms, which charged Britain with military action against the people of the territory and called for the immediate removal of the British military bases in Aden. A further resolution, recommending the establishment of a voluntary fund for the economic development of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, was adopted by the Fourth Committee on November 9.

Fifth Committee

During this period, the General Assembly considered a number of reports from its Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) on appointments to subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly. These included the appointment of Mr. Louis-Denis Hudon of Canada to the Committee on Contributions for a three-year term beginning in 1966.

The Fifth Committee also approved the 1964 supplementary estimates and gave first reading to the 1965 and 1966 budget estimates. It then took up an item

on personnel questions and discussed a report by the Secretary-General on the geographical composition of the UN Secretariat.

Sixth Committee

The Sixth (Legal) Committee began its work by discussing the reports of the International Law Commission on its sixteenth and seventeenth sessions, dealing primarily with codification of the law of treaties and special missions. On November 5, the Assembly approved by 82 votes (Canada) to none, with 21 abstentions, a resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee on measures to be taken to secure greater participation in general multilateral treaties concluded under the League of Nations.

After adopting a somewhat controversial resolution dealing with technical assistance to promote the teaching and wider appreciation of international law, the Legal Committee began what is expected to be a lengthy debate on the principles of friendly relations and co-operation among states.

Chinese Representation in the United Nations

A STATEMENT BY THE HONOURABLE PAUL MARTIN,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, NOVEMBER 17, 1965.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY has again considered the issue of Chinese representation. Once again it has voted not to seat representatives of the Government of Communist China in the United Nations at the price of expelling the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. Canada would have welcomed the opportunity to see Communist China take a seat in the world organization had Peking made this possible. If that has not yet happened, it is because Peking itself has set a price on participation which is unacceptable. In the view of the Canadian Government it is not for the United Nations to accommodate itself to the views of a single nation, however powerful or populous. It is for Communist China to make that accommodation. Much to the regret of the Canadian Government, there is no present evidence that she is ready to do so.

Background to Vote

This year's vote was taken against a background of growing disquiet over the purposes and policies of the Government of Communist China. There is concern in many countries of Africa and Asia about the circumstances in which Communist China forced the postponement of an Afro-Asian Conference which it concluded it could not dominate. There is concern over the attitude of Communist China towards the recent unsettling events in Indonesia. There is concern over the declared opposition of the Government of Communist China to any kind of negotiated solution of the situation in Vietnam. And there is also concern over the doctrine of armed revolution which has only recently been reaffirmed by the Government of Communist China and from which no government, whatever its status, is apparently immune.

These actions and attitudes on the part of Communist China have led some countries to conclude that it does not meet the qualifications of membership in the United Nations. The opposition of these countries has been reinforced by the attitude of the Government of Communist China itself, which has attacked and sought to discredit the United Nations to the point of urging the creation of a rival world organization. Other countries, however, feel that the course of recent developments in the policies of the Peking Government makes it all the more necessary to bring representatives of that Government into some form of relation with the international community as represented by the United Nations and its organs.

As far as Canada is concerned, we have consistently supported the principle of universality in the United Nations. We supported that principle ten years ago,

when Canada was instrumental in breaking the deadlock which had been responsible for barring a substantial number of countries from United Nations membership. When I addressed the present General Assembly on September 24, I reiterated Canada's support for the principle of universality and expressed the hope that the United Nations could make progress towards the achievement of universal membership as soon as possible. If the United Nations is to be an effective organ of international opinion, it must be able, ultimately, to bring all members of the international community within the framework of the obligations and responsibilities laid down in the Charter.

Canada has endorsed the view of the Secretary-General that it is in the interests of the international community to have Communist China exposed to the currents and cross-currents of international opinion. We also believe that there are problems in the realm of international peace and security which require the co-operation of Communist China for their solution. We have made it clear that we regard disarmament as one such problem and have supported Communist Chinese participation in any world disarmament conference.

Reasons for Negative Ballot

It is in this spirit that Canada approached the problem of Chinese representation at the current session of the General Assembly. Nevertheless, after very careful consideration, the Canadian Government decided that it could not, in present circumstances, do other than vote against the resolution which was before the Assembly. In voting as it did the Canadian Government was guided by the following considerations.

First, in a press conference on September 29, the Communist Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi, posed a number of new conditions which would have to be satisfied if Communist China was to agree to take its seat in the United Nations. As part of these conditions, the United Nations was being asked to rescind its resolution condemning Communist China as an aggressor in Korea, where Canadians fought and died to defeat aggression. It was being asked to review and revise its Charter. And it was being asked to admit to membership all so-called independent countries and to eject from membership all those which Peking chooses to regard as "imperialist puppet states". It seemed to the Canadian Government that these new conditions raised the fundamental question whether Peking itself still desires to participate in the United Nations.

Second, there is another condition of long standing from which Communist China has never departed. This is that the population of Formosa must be denied any form of representation in the United Nations. The Canadian Government cannot be unmindful of the fact that the Government of the Republic of China is a founding member of the United Nations and one which exercises control over a population of some 12 million people. It cannot disregard the claim of the population of Formosa to be allowed to play their full and honourable part in the life of the international community. Canada, for one, could not agree that it would

be in accordance with the principles of the United Nations to support an arrangement which would result in a denial of that claim.

Third, whether we like it or not, this is an important issue, which, in one way or another, could affect the balance of forces in the world. It is not an issue which can be considered in isolation. It must be part of any independent policy judgment that Canada assess the total impact of the seating of Communist China on its other relations and on the United Nations itself in the present circumstances.

Changed Chinese Attitude Hoped for

It remains the hope of the Canadian Government that Communist China will itself come to recognize that it must be prepared to take a seat in the United Nations and negotiate its differences as other states have done and are bound to do under the United Nations Charter. We also hope that some means may be found by which further clarification could be obtained as to the intentions of the Government of the People's Republic of China regarding membership in the United Nations before this issue is dealt with again in the General Assembly. In the meantime it will continue to be the policy of the Canadian Government to do what it can to encourage the establishment of mutually beneficial contacts between Canada and Communist China and between Communist China and the rest of the international community.

Franco-Canadian Cultural Agreement

THE FIRST general cultural agreement between France and Canada was signed on November 17, 1965, by the French Ambassador, His Excellency François Leduc, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin.

The agreement aims at establishing, in the light of current conditions, a framework for cultural co-operation between France and Canada. This initiative is in accord with the desire for a policy of close co-operation between the two countries expressed by General de Gaulle and Prime Minister Pearson during their meeting in Paris in January 1964.

The agreement consists of a preamble, 11 articles and an exchange of letters. Its aims as set out in the preamble are to develop cultural, scientific, technical and artistic exchanges and to encourage the dissemination of the French language for the purpose of contributing to the strengthening of the traditional bonds between Canada and France.



The Ambassador of France to Canada, His Excellency François Leduc (left), shakes hands with the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, after the signing of a cultural agreement between their two governments.

The means by which these ends are to be achieved are outlined in the 11 articles of the agreement. Exchanges are to be carried out in the academic, artistic, scientific and cultural fields, and will involve films, television, radio and publications. A Franco-Canadian joint commission will be set up to facilitate this increased co-operation, to examine how the present agreement can be best implemented and, in particular, to draw up a programme for submission to the two governments.

An exchange of letters between the two governments is included as part of the agreement, which will enable the Canadian provinces to make their own agreements with France, either within the framework provided by the general agreement (and the exchange of letters) or with the assent of the Canadian Government.

In announcing the general cultural agreement, Mr. Martin noted that, during the past few years, new opportunities for exchanges had developed and new possibilities for Franco-Canadian co-operation had become evident. The agreement had been designed to take advantage of these developments. As a result of this agreement, said Mr. Martin, cultural exchanges between France and Canada would in the future be better co-ordinated, would present greater and more varied opportunities, and would be substantially increased.

TEXT OF CULTURAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

The GOVERNMENT of CANADA and the GOVERNMENT of the FRENCH REPUBLIC

Being desirous of developing exchanges between the two countries in the cultural, scientific, technical and artistic fields;

Convinced that such co-operation will contribute to strengthening the ties of traditional friendship which unite Canada and France; and

Wishing to encourage the dissemination of the French language, have resolved to conclude a cultural agreement and, to this effect, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

The contracting parties, anxious to broaden knowledge of each other's civilization and culture, shall collaborate to this end.

In particular, they shall encourage the establishment of close and continuous contacts between Canadian and French institutions such as cultural centres and institutes, and artistic, scientific and technical institutes. They shall keep each other informed of developments in these fields.

ARTICLE 2

The contracting parties shall, within the scope of their respective jurisdictions, promote exchanges of professors, lecturers and assistants between their universities, as well as of officials of university organizations and other interested groups.

ARTICLE 3

Each contracting party shall endeavour to provide an increased number of bursaries for study or training to students of the other country.

ARTICLE 4

The contracting parties agree to seek ways to grant a partial or total equivalence in each other's country in respect of studies which have been completed, of successful competitions and examinations which have been passed, and of diplomas which have been obtained.

ARTICLE 5

Each party shall facilitate to the greatest possible extent the presentation of artistic activities of the other party and particularly of concerts, exhibitions and theatrical performances.

ARTICLE 6

The contracting parties agree to facilitate, within the scope of their respective legislation, the entry into, and dissemination within their territories, of:

Motion pictures, music, (in the form of scores or of recordings), and radio and television programmes;

works of art and reproductions of such works; and

books, periodicals and other cultural, scientific and technical publications as well as of catalogues relating to them.

They agree to lend their assistance, in so far as possible to performances and exchanges in these fields.

ARTICLE 7

The contracting parties shall expand their co-operation in the field of scientific research as well as in the training of administrative and technical personnel.

To this end, they shall promote exchanges between the two countries of scientists and research workers; the provision of bursaries for training or research; as well as all activity intended to further scientific and technical development.

ARTICLE 8

Each contracting party shall, in so far as possible, facilitate the resolution of administrative and financial problems arising in its territory from the cultural activities of the other party.

ARTICLE 9

Each contracting party shall, in accordance with its legislation, facilitate the admission and sojourn of nationals of the other state, and of their families, to pursue activities within the framework of the present agreement.

They shall also facilitate, subject to the same conditions, the entry of the personal goods and effects of such persons.

ARTICLE 10

A joint Canadian and French Commission shall meet alternately in Ottawa and in Paris whenever the two parties deem it necessary. It shall be presided over by a Canadian in Ottawa and by a Frenchman in Paris.

It shall examine questions concerning the implementation of the present agreement. In particular, it shall study a programme of activities and submit it for the approval of the two Governments.

ARTICLE 11

Each contracting party shall notify the other of the completion of the formalities required by its Constitution for the bringing into force of the present agreement. This agreement shall come into force upon the date of the last of these notifications.

The present agreement shall remain in force for a period of five years, renewable by tacit agreement unless one or the other of the contracting parties gives notice of termination at least six months prior to the expiry date.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the representatives of the two Governments have signed this Agreement.

DONE IN DUPLICATE AT OTTAWA this seventeenth day of November, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five, in English and French, both texts being equally authentic.

PAUL MARTIN

For the Government of Canada

FRANÇOIS LEDUC

For the Government of the French Republic

The Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Ambassador of France to Canada

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Ottawa, November 17, 1965.

Excellency;

With reference to the Cultural Agreement signed today, I have the honour to inform you of the following:

Within the framework of the said Agreement, exchanges with France in the field of education and of cultural, scientific, technical and artistic relations may be the subject of *ententes* entered into with provinces of Canada. In such a case, the French Government will inform the Canadian Government.

The authority for the provinces to enter into such *ententes* will stem either from the fact that they have indicated that they are proceeding under the Cultural Agreement and the exchange of letters of today's date or from the assent given them by the Federal Government.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

PAUL MARTIN

His Excellency François Leduc,
Ambassador of France,
OTTAWA.

AMBASSADE DE FRANCE

Ottawa, November 17, 1965.

Sir,

I have the honour of acknowledging receipt of your letter of today's date informing me of the following:

"Within the framework of the said Agreement exchanges with France in the field of education and of cultural, scientific, technical and artistic relations may be the subject of *ententes* entered into with provinces of Canada. In such a case, the French Government will inform the Canadian Government.

The authority for the provinces to enter into such *ententes* will stem either from the fact that they have indicated that they are proceeding under the Cultural Agreement and the exchange of letters of today's date or from the assent given them by the Federal Government."

I have the honour on behalf of the French Government to take note of the foregoing.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANÇOIS LEDUC

The Honourable Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
OTTAWA.

PROGRAMME OF CULTURAL ACTIVITIES UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT

The cultural activities envisaged by the new agreement have already begun through the Federal Government's programme of cultural exchanges with French-speaking countries. The programme came into existence in 1964 and now represents to the Federal Government annual expenditures of up to \$1 million. The development of the programme was the subject of talks between Canadian and French officials in Paris last September. Mr. Jean Basdevant, Director-General of Cultural and Technical Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, and Mr. Marcel Cadieux, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, headed their respective delegations. During the talks, stock was taken of the existing cultural exchanges between France and Canada and measures to better co-ordinate such exchanges were considered. Also considered were new projects and the best means of developing them.

2. The following is a brief outline of the programme at present:

I. *Academic Exchanges*

- (a) *Scholarships* — The French Government increased the number of its scholarships available to Canadian students from 45 (for the period 1964/65) to 60 (for the period 1965/66 and has announced that it will increase the number further for the period 1966/67. The Canadian

Government, for its part, has raised the number of scholarships available for French students from 28 (for the period 1964/65) to 100 (for the period 1965/66). Officials have agreed on the measures to be taken in common to ensure the fair selection of candidates.

The French Government is prepared to extend to Canadian students awarded grants in Canada for study in France the advantages of the French social-security system when an appropriate arrangement between the two governments has been made.

- (b) *Professors* — France is prepared to receive some Canadian professors at the associate level each year to teach in French universities.

In return, Canadian universities, thanks to the Canadian Government Fellowship Programme, will be able to invite 12 French professors to lecture in Canada for various periods during the year 1965/66, and it is foreseen that more will be invited in 1966/67 in co-operation with the French authorities for various teaching periods.

- (c) *Exchange of Language Teachers* — France and Canada have agreed to study the possibility of an exchange of language teachers. Approximately 30 teachers of French would be received at Canadian institutions and the same number of Canadian English-speaking teachers would be received in French institutions.
- (d) *Equivalence of Diplomas* — With the intention of encouraging student exchanges, the French and Canadian authorities have recognized the urgent need for a solution of this problem and have agreed to a study of solutions by appropriate organizations.
- (e) *Establishment of a Chair of Canadian Studies in France* — The French authorities received with interest a suggestion that a chair of Canadian studies be established at one of the French universities and have undertaken to investigate the possibilities.
- (f) *Canadian Travel Scholarships for Outstanding French Students* — The French authorities accepted gratefully a Canadian offer of 10 scholarships to allow winners of the French "Concours Général" to travel in Canada during the summer vacation.

II. *Cultural Exchanges — Film, Radio and Television*

- (a) *Films* — French authorities will help organize the training of Canadian producers and film technicians in France. The two countries have also agreed to encourage the dissemination of each other's films within their countries.
- (b) *Radio and Television* — Officials of the ORTF (Office de Radio, Télévision Française) and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation will meet to examine various means of improving exchanges in the field of radio and television.
- (c) *Clearing Houses for Exchange of Visitors* — The two countries will study the possibility of establishing secretariats in France and Canada to encourage and facilitate exchanges by groups of industrialists, technicians, union leaders, professors, teachers, students, etc.

III. *Exchanges in the Arts*

French initiative brings to Canada each year performing arts groups, individual artists and art exhibitions. For the Montreal Universal Exhibition of 1967, the French intend to make a special effort to increase their activities in Canada in this field.

Canada, for its part, is considering various projects; the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, thanks to a Canadian Government grant, has already made a tour of France in October 1965. Among other projects now under study are:

- (a) *Retrospective Exhibition of the Painter Riopelle* — This exhibition would be held in Paris in 1967 at the Museum of Modern Art.
- (b) *Documentary Exhibition on the City of Montreal* — This exhibition would be held in Paris as a prelude to the Montreal World Fair in 1967.
- (c) *Retrospective Exhibition of the Painter Morrice*
- (d) *Canadian Week at Mulhouse* — Canada has accepted an invitation from the city of Mulhouse in France to participate in a Canadian Week, organized under the auspices of the city. Various functions are planned including conferences, film showings, cultural and commercial exhibitions.
- (e) *Gifts of Books to French Libraries* — Canada has offered to give to a few French libraries collections of Canadiana in order to make available to the French public representative selections of Canadian publications covering the various sectors of Canadian cultural life.
- (f) *Establishment of a Centre of Documentation on Canada* — Such a centre will help make Canada better known in France.
- (g) *Other proposals under study are:* the visit by a theatrical group to France, a tour by the Montreal Symphony Orchestra and the organization in Paris of a Canadian "fortnight".

IV. *Scientific Exchanges*

In order to increase the exchanges in this field, Canada and France have agreed:

- (a) To organize a meeting of documentation specialists.
- (b) To facilitate exchanges in research and other specific fields.
- (c) To encourage an increase in the number of applicants for the Post-Doctorate Fellowships Programme of the National Research Council.
- (d) To ask the embassies of each country to work out a scientific programme to encompass these proposals. A delegation of Canadian scientists would then visit France for discussions.

Entente on Cultural Co-operation Between France and Quebec

On November 24, 1965, an exchange of letters took place in Ottawa between the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, and the Ambassador of France to Canada, His Excellency François Leduc, the purpose of which was to confirm the assent of the Canadian Government to an entente on cultural co-operation between the Government of the French Republic and the government of the Province of Quebec signed the same day in Quebec City by Mr. Leduc and the Quebec Minister of Cultural Affairs, Mr. Pierre Laporte. The texts of these letters and an unofficial translation of the entente follow:

Ottawa, November 24, 1965.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to discussions which have taken place between Quebec, French and Canadian authorities with respect to the concluding of an Entente on Cultural Co-operation between France and the Province of Quebec. As you know, the French and Quebec authorities have reached agreement on the text of an "Entente on Cultural Co-operation between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of Quebec".

This Entente is being signed today, as agreed, at Quebec by Mr. Pierre Laporte, Minister of Cultural Affairs of Quebec, on the one hand, and by myself in the name of the French Government, on the other hand. I should be grateful to you if you would confirm that this Entente on Cultural Co-operation between France and Quebec meets with the assent of the Canadian Government.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

François Leduc

The Honourable Paul Martin,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Ottawa.

Ottawa, November 24, 1965.

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of today's date concerning discussions which have taken place between Quebec, French and Canadian authorities with respect to the concluding of an Entente on Cultural Co-operation between France and the Province of Quebec.

I have the honour to confirm to you that the attached Entente on Cultural Co-operation between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of Quebec, which is being signed today by Mr. Pierre Laporte, Minister of Cultural Affairs of Quebec, on the one hand, and by yourself in the name of the French Government, on the other hand, meets with the assent of the Canadian Government.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Paul Martin

His Excellency François Leduc,
Ambassador of France,
Ottawa.

TEXT OF ENTENTE ON CULTURAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE GOVERNMENT OF QUEBEC

The GOVERNMENT of the FRENCH REPUBLIC and the GOVERNMENT of QUEBEC

Conscious of the historic ties which their common origin, language and culture have created between France and Quebec,

Being desirous of promoting the French language and of developing their cultural relations by increasing exchanges in intellectual, literary, artistic and scientific fields,

Resolved to extend and reinforce the friendly co-operation auspiciously instituted between them by the Entente on a programme of exchanges and co-operation in the field of education signed at Paris on February 27, 1965,

Have agreed as follows:

Part I *On the French Language*

Article 1

The Government of the French Republic and the Government of Quebec shall co-operate closely to promote and disseminate the French language.

Article 2

The contracting parties shall encourage the joint efforts of organizations or institutions which safeguard the quality of the French language and work towards its wider dissemination.

Article 3

The contracting parties shall exchange information and documentation on methods of dissemination and of perfecting the French language both as a mother tongue and as a second language.

They shall encourage the convening of meetings of specialists, and training, in order to contribute to the definition and improvement of French scientific and technical terminology.

They shall exchange specialists of the French language as a mother tongue and as a second language and envisage, in particular, the sending of missions to public services or administrations and to specialized institutions.

Article 4

The contracting parties shall make all necessary arrangements to facilitate the establishment of close relations between, on the one hand, the Office of the French Language of Quebec and organizations recognized by it, and, on the other, universities and specialized French institutions.

Article 5

The contracting parties shall ensure increased exchanges of books and documentation on French philology.

Part II

On Cultural and Artistic Exchanges

Article 6

The Government of the French Republic and the Government of Quebec shall each make all necessary arrangements to encourage a better knowledge of the culture, arts, sciences and techniques of the other.

Article 7

Each of the contracting parties shall encourage the study of the literature and of the civilization of the other, in particular by encouraging the establishment of chairs and lectureships at institutions of higher learning and by ensuring the provision of appropriate materials to public libraries.

Article 8

The contracting parties shall reciprocally facilitate the dissemination of French-language books and publications. They shall make a concerted effort to eliminate obstacles to this dissemination, in particular in so far as scientific and technical manuals and literary works are concerned. As far as possible, they shall encourage exchanges of trainees in publishing and library work and, in general, of critics and publishing specialists.

Article 9

Each of the contracting parties shall facilitate access to its cultural and scientific institutions, libraries, archives, museums and laboratories, by scientists and specialists of the other country wishing to pursue research. This assistance shall be granted on a reciprocal basis in conformity with their respective laws and regulations.

Each of the contracting parties shall encourage the organization in France and in Quebec of training and advanced courses and of study groups for scientists and specialists of the other party.

Article 10

The contracting parties shall encourage exchange visits by men of letters, artists and scholars.

Article 11

Within the limits of their respective jurisdictions, the responsible French and Quebec authorities shall facilitate exchanges and co-operation in the fields of radio and television.

With respect to the cinema, they shall encourage co-operation between French and Quebec companies and organizations for the production and distribution of films, the

organization of training for production and technical personnel, the co-production of art and documentary films and the exchange of information and documentation, particularly between film libraries.

Article 12

The Government of the French Republic and the Government of Quebec shall provide each to the other all assistance, in so far as their laws permit, for the establishment and functioning of French and Quebec cultural institutions and establishments. They shall encourage the closest collaboration between their learned societies.

Article 13

Each of the contracting parties shall facilitate the participation of qualified personnel in cultural congresses, colloquies and cultural conventions held on the territory of the other party.

Article 14

Each of the contracting parties shall encourage the organization of exhibitions in the plastic arts of the other party as well as exchanges of artists, technicians and specialists in the field of fine arts.

Article 15

Each of the contracting parties shall encourage in its territory tours of singers, instrumentalists and theatre or ballet companies of the other party.

Each undertakes to organize training courses for dramatic actors, directors, stage designers, producers and theatre managers of the other party.

Article 16

Each of the contracting parties shall strive to grant bursaries or assistance to writers, artists or researchers of the other party, in order to enable them to pursue studies or to work in the territory of the other party.

They shall also strive to organize training and advanced courses for artists and specialists in the arts of the other party.

Article 17

The contracting parties shall consider all possible means of encouraging, between France and Quebec, exchanges of information related to cultural centres and institutes, to houses of culture, and to popular arts and crafts. In particular, they shall organize training for authorities or specialists.

Part III *General Clauses*

Article 18

The Government of the French Republic and the Government of Quebec shall facilitate, in so far as possible, the resolution of administrative and financial problems arising out of the implementation of this present Entente.

Article 19

The Permanent Commission on Franco-Quebec Co-operation established under the Entente signed at Paris on February 27, 1965, is hereby authorized to implement the terms of this Entente, which shall enter into force upon signature.

Article 20

This Entente shall remain in force for a period of five years, renewable by tacit agreement unless one or the other of the contracting parties gives notice of termination during the six months prior to the expiration of each five-year period.

Done in two copies in French at Quebec the 24th day of November 1965.

Relations Between Canada and Italy

THE POST-WAR recovery of Italy has been remarkable. The country has regained its place in world councils and international organizations. It has rebuilt its economy, which was largely devastated by the war, and has notably improved the standard of living of its inhabitants. Perhaps, however, its most important achievement has been the restoration of parliamentary democracy.

The capitulation in June 1943 was followed by a confused period during which the country was a battleground between the armed forces of Germany and the allied powers, while its legitimate provisional government had only limited authority. Its prestige increased, however, as the liberation of the country proceeded and representatives of all political parties opposed to Fascism entered the Cabinet. A national election and a referendum were held on June 2, 1946. The referendum decided in favour of a republican form of government and the newly-elected representatives formed a Constituent Assembly, the main task of which was to ratify the Peace Treaty on July 31, 1947. A new Constitution, providing for a President, a bicameral Parliament and a Cabinet, was approved in December 1947. It came into force on April 18, 1948, following the election of the two houses of Parliament and the selection of the first President. The Constitution has not undergone any substantial modification since that time. National elections were held in 1953, 1958, and 1963.

Since the adoption of the Constitution, the Christian Democrat Party has been the most important political grouping in Parliament. Even when it enjoyed a majority, however, it usually administered the country in coalition with other democratic parties. The present Government includes ministers of the Christian Democrat, Socialist, Social Democrat and Republican parties. Both the present Prime Minister, Mr. Aldo Moro, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Fanfani, are Christian Democrats. The President, Mr. Giuseppe Saragat, who was elected in December 1964, is a Social Democrat.

Although the democratic parties have always received a clear majority of the popular vote, the Communist Party has considerable strength. It is well disciplined and financed; at the last general election one out of five voters supported it, thus making it the second largest party in Parliament. The presence of this large group, unassimilable to Western democratic methods, has complicated the administration of the country and at times threatened the stability of the Government; it has not, however, prevented the functioning of parliamentary democracy.

North Atlantic Alliance

Italy was one of the original signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. The maintenance of the alliance with the Western European and North American countries has remained ever since a basic tenet of its foreign policy. From the

Italian point of view, this defensive grouping is complemented by the establishment of political (the Council of Europe and the Western European Union) and economic (the European Common Market) links with its West European neighbours. Thus Italy is firmly wedded to the policy of uniting its forces with those of other countries sharing an ideal of peace, international co-operation and economic development.

By their joint accession to the Treaty, Italy and Canada have become formal allies for the first time in their history. They have taken part in discussions of common strategic defence plans and shared military information. With their other partners, they have also exchanged views on world issues. In NATO councils the positions of the two countries have been generally close, and the common membership in the North Atlantic alliance has provided welcome opportunity to establish a strong tradition of fruitful co-operation between them.

A tangible example of this co-operation is the joint presence of Italian and Canadian forces at the NATO Air Weapons Training Installation (AWTI) at Decimomannu in Sardinia. Under Treaty arrangements, Italy agreed to the establishment of the AWTI for use by the air forces of Canada, West Germany and Italy. Italy assumed responsibility for the construction, maintenance, operation and logistic support of the base. Territorial command, and command and administration of the AWTI as a whole, are exercised by the Italian Air Force. Canada contributes a quarter of the annual cost of operations and maintenance.

In addition, Canada and Italy are two of nine countries on the scientific staff of the SACLANT Anti-Submarine Research Centre, which was established at La Spezia, Italy, in May 1954, to provide technical advice and consultant services in the European area for the anti-submarine warfare mission of the Supreme Commander Atlantic and, through him, for other NATO commanders.

Canada and Italy also exchange scientific and technical information on defence research. A by-product of this fairly steady flow of information has been the sale of Canadian arms and equipment to Italy, either directly or through NATO. In support of the F-104G programme of the Italian Air Force, Canadair has supplied the Fiat Company with aircraft components and parts and other Canadian firms have equipped the Italian armed forces with flight simulators, radar testers, helicopter hangars, etc.

International Co-operation

Italy and Canada are joint members of many other international organizations, the most important of which is, naturally, the United Nations. Italy did not join the world organization until 1955, its candidature having been blocked for several years, with that of other countries, because of disagreement among the great powers. Canada was instrumental in removing this obstacle and was one of the sponsors of Italy's admission. The relations between the two at the UN have remained particularly friendly, and Canada was pleased to support the election of Mr. Fanfani last September as President of the General Assembly.

The two countries are strong supporters of peace-keeping operations. Since the autumn of 1956, when the then Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable L. B. Pearson, proposed the establishment of a United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), air-transport elements of the Royal Canadian Air Force, in support of peace-keeping operations, have shuttled between Canada and Italy and from there to the Middle East and Africa. In the beginning, the UNEF mission operated out of Capodichino, near Naples; it now flies from Pisa. In addition to RCAF aircraft flying to and from these bases under UN auspices, Canada has provided logistic-support personnel to the UNEF detachment in Italy.

Italy took part in the UN operation in the Congo, where several Italians lost their lives. The despatch of the first group of five Italian observers to Kashmir was announced recently. Italy attended the international peace-keeping conference held in Ottawa in October 1964.

Italy co-operates closely with the U.S.A., Britain and Canada at the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC) at Geneva, as well as in the United Nations Committee on Disarmament in New York (UNDC), toward achievement of a controlled general disarmament. Canada and Italy recently indicated their support of the U.S. proposal for a non-dissemination agreement. This text, which had been drafted on the basis of discussions between the four Western countries, has been submitted to the UN General Assembly.

Bilateral Relations

The development of purely bilateral relations has occurred simultaneously with increased co-operation in international organizations. In 1949, Italy had become the first among the former Axis countries to establish normal diplomatic relations with Canada. Besides an embassy in Ottawa, Italy set up consulates-general in Montreal and Toronto, a consulate in Vancouver, and honorary consular offices in Fort William, Fredericton, Halifax, Hamilton, London, Niagara Falls, Port Alfred, Quebec, Rouyn, Sault-Ste. Marie, Sudbury, Timmins, Windsor and Winnipeg. Canada established a consulate-general in Milan in 1963 in recognition of the commercial and industrial importance of Northern Italy. Two provinces, Ontario and Quebec, also maintain offices in Milan.

These relations have been supplemented by the exchange of visits by Italian and Canadian public figures. In 1954, the Canadian Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent, stopped over in Rome during a world tour. His successor, the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, visited Italy as Prime Minister in 1958 and as Leader of the Opposition in 1963. The most recent official visit of an Italian Minister to Canada was made in 1964 by the Honourable Bernardo Mattarella, Minister of Foreign Trade.

Several agreements have been concluded between the two governments or their governmental agencies, the scope and variety of which range from an agreement governing Commonwealth war graves to the mutual provision of air services. The most recent, and one of the most important, is the 1965 agreement for co-oper-

ation in the peaceful application of nuclear energy, entered into by Atomic Energy of Canada Limited and the Comitato Nazionale per l'Energia Nucleare.

Immigration

The settlement of well over 500,000 persons of Italian extraction in Canada provides perhaps the most important tie between the two countries. Italian immigration dates back to the French régime, and several well-known French-Canadian families are, in fact, of Italian origin. The flow of immigration increased at the end of the nineteenth century, but the greatest influx took place after the Second World War, when the number of Italian immigrants was second only to that of British immigrants. A slight reduction has occurred in recent years, but it is expected that more than 25,000 Italians will move to Canada in 1965 despite the labour demands in Italy and the increasing number of Italian workers employed in other European countries.

Most immigrants have tended to settle in the large urban areas, especially Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton and Vancouver; many others are employed in the mining industry throughout Canada. Italian immigrants and their children have adapted themselves well to Canada. They have entered all professions and a considerable number have attained prominent positions.

The majority have come from Central and Southern Italy, the traditional emigration areas. More recently, an increased number have come from the North. In addition to the Visa Section of the Canadian Embassy in Rome, an immigration office has been opened at the Consulate-General in Milan. The Honourable John Nicholson, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, presided over the inauguration ceremonies in July 1965.

Economic and Trade Relations

Italy, possessing few material resources of its own, has long been a leading world trader, importing most of its raw materials and energy sources and exporting the products of a plentiful supply of labour. Membership in the European Common Market and the accelerated economic development of the past decade have led to a rapid increase in foreign trade and greater participation in the international business and economic world. Italy's trade with its Common Market partners has grown rapidly in recent years; about 40 per cent of its total exports are absorbed by other Common Market countries, which in turn, supply a third of its imports.

Italian-Canadian trade is roughly equal in value to Canadian trade with France, but has fluctuated widely since the war; imports from Canada have varied from under \$25 million in 1957 to over \$76 million in 1963, falling to \$62 million in 1964. Italian exports to Canada have grown steadily and rapidly; in 1964, for the first time, exports, valued at \$67.5 million, exceeded imports from Canada. Though Italy has been in the past mainly a market for Canadian bulk foodstuffs and raw materials, recent years have seen the importation of precision instruments,

electronic devices, aircraft components and other highly-manufactured equipment of Canadian make. From Italy, Canada imports a large variety of products, which may be ranged in three main groups: agricultural products (such as wine and cheese), distinctive articles produced by small firms (such as clothing and artisans' wares) and the industrial equipment already referred to.

Trade relations with Italy are governed by the GATT, each country granting most-favoured-nation treatment to the other. A growing number of private inter-company arrangements provide for the manufacture of Canadian goods in Italy or Italian products in Canada, and for various financial or technical co-operation devices.

Italian investment in Canada is becoming substantial. It is usually directed to the building and construction industries. On the other hand, several large Canadian companies have established branches in Italy or have bought into Italian companies. Thus Canadian capital is used for the production of Italian agricultural machinery, sailboats, radar equipment and tissue paper.

Commercial relations between Canada and Italy have become much closer during the last few years, partly because of the growing Italo-Canadian community in Canada but also because of the increasing interest in international dealings on the part of the business communities of both countries. Federal and provincial governments in Canada, as well as the Italian authorities, have responded to and encouraged this new relation by opening trade and business-development offices in the other country and by sponsoring a large number of trade missions and exhibits at trade fairs. Italian-Canadian chambers of commerce have also been established in Montreal and Toronto.

Cultural Relations

The study of the Italian language has only recently been undertaken in Canadian universities, but the Italian arts and history have always been part of the knowledge of a cultivated person. Italian culture has become even better known in recent years as a number of Canadian artists and students have lived in Italy to acquire more intimate knowledge of its art centres and institutions. Several have been subsidized by the Canada Council. In addition, the Italian Government each year grants a certain number of scholarships (totalling about \$5,000) to Canadian students for study in Italy. At present there are seven such scholars, working mainly in the fields of art, literature and language. Sculptors, graphic artists, musicians, composers and singers, and performers of every description have come to Italy in search of inspiration and training; some have achieved acknowledgement and even renown. Canadian painters and sculptors have had one-man and collective shows and have taken part in such internationally-famous festivals as Spoleto, Canadian singers have performed in Italy's opera houses, and Canadian concert pianists and conductors have presented public and radio performances in Italy. The Venice Biennale, best known and most important Italian festival of the arts, includes a permanent Canadian pavilion, in which the work of distin-

guished Canadian artists is displayed. The productions of Canada's National Film Board are enormously popular in Italy and have won many prizes in the major Italian film festivals.

Many Italian musicians, conductors and writers have visited Canada. Among those displaying most interest in Canada have been film-makers, many of whom are fascinated by Canadian film achievements, particularly those of the National Film Board and of the younger producers and directors. Some of the techniques pioneered in Canada have been carefully studied by Italians and adopted in their productions. In return, some Canadian film producers and technicians have been trained in the celebrated Experimental Centre for the Film in Rome, an institution staffed by the greatest Italian names of the contemporary cinema.

The Canadian and Italian Governments have been engaged during the past two years in the preparation of a co-production film agreement that would allow the film industries of the two countries to co-operate still more closely. The agreement would be similar to the one Canada signed with France.

Taking into account the provisions of their Civilian Relief Agreement of 1950, Canada and Italy concluded in 1954 a cultural agreement in the form of an exchange of notes. As a step toward making each country's culture better known to the other, both governments stated their willingness to facilitate co-operation between their cultural and artistic organizations.

Under this agreement, Italy has established a Cultural Institute in Montreal to foster Italian cultural activities in Canada. It is expected that a Canadian foundation will be established in Rome in accordance with the agreement.

The significance of Rome as the centre of the Roman Catholic faith has often overshadowed its political role. The sovereign status of Vatican City was defined by the Lateran Treaty of 1929 between the Holy See and the Italian State. Although the Vatican is an independent entity, its geographical location within the



Chancery Building of the Canadian Embassy, Via G. B. di Rossi, Rome.

city of Rome has naturally created a unique interest in Rome itself, which, in turn, inevitably adds to the interest in Italy as a whole. A great many Canadian residents in Rome are clerics studying theology or canon law, who are usually domiciled at the Canadian Pontifical College. The presence of the Vatican also attracts a large number of Canadian visitors. This has been particularly noticeable since the opening of the Ecumenical Council in 1962, which has been attended by Canadian bishops and observers who have resided in Rome for several months each year.

The annual number of Canadian visitors to Italy is considerable, perhaps exceeding 80,000, though detailed statistics are lacking. Italian visitors to Canada are not so numerous but are estimated at 3,000 a year at least. Tourism has been stimulated since 1963 by the abolition of non-immigrant visas for those who do not intend to remain longer than three months in the other country.

Visitors between the two countries travel from a wide variety of motives. Some are businessmen bent on increasing their trade with Italy or Canada; some are immigrants returning to see their relatives in Italy, who will often bring back new immigrants to Canada; many are pilgrims attracted by the unique role of Rome as a world religious centre; the majority, no doubt, are tourists eager to visit famous cities of which they have heard since early youth. All testify in their way to the numerous links existing between the two countries, links that become stronger and more durable with the passage of time.

Ethiopia and Canada

ON OCTOBER 13, 1965, it was announced that Canada and Ethiopia had agreed to establish diplomatic relations. Mr. Michel Gauvin, who was at one time Canada's Chargé d'Affaires in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, has been designated Canada's first Ambassador to Ethiopia. Mr. Gauvin is scheduled to arrive in Addis Ababa to begin his new assignment early in 1966.

Situated in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia has a total area of 400,000 square miles, slightly less than that of the Province of Ontario. The country consists primarily of a huge plateau extending from the Red Sea to the Kenya border. Surrounded by deserts and virtually impassable mountains, it remained largely isolated from contact with the outside world until the end of the last century.

Ethiopia Enters the Modern World

After a long period during which Ethiopia was divided by tribal warfare, Emperor Menelik II brought the country under control of a central government toward the latter part of the nineteenth century. Menelik consolidated his power by decisively defeating the Italians, who were expanding their possessions on the Red Sea Coast. By 1908, Menelik had secured the agreement of the European powers to what are substantially the present borders of Ethiopia. With Menelik's death, another brief period of disorder ensued until, in 1930, Ras Tafari was crowned Emperor, taking the name of Haile Selassie. In 1935, the Italians invaded the country and Emperor Haile Selassie established a government-in-exile in Britain. In 1940, the country was liberated by British and Commonwealth forces, who restored Haile Selassie to the throne. During his 35-year reign, the Emperor has maintained a strong personal leadership and is modernizing Ethiopia, while seeking to maintain a balance between tradition and change.

In 1955, the Constitution of 1931 was revised, transferring increased rights and responsibility to the Ethiopian people. The Constitution provides for a Parliament, which consists of a Chamber of Deputies of 251 seats, elected by universal suffrage for four-year terms, and a Senate not to exceed half the number of seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Members of the Senate are appointed by the Emperor for six-year terms. There are no political parties in Ethiopia.

Addis Ababa — the Modern Capital

Because of the stature of Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia's long history as an independent country and, more recently, the good communications between Addis Ababa and the rest of the world and its excellent conference facilities, Addis Ababa was at the centre of African affairs even before the establishment there, in July 1964, of the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Emperor Haile Selassie is one of the founders of the OAU, which was established

at a meeting of African heads of state in Addis Ababa in May 1963. As one of the most vigorous advocates of pan-Africanism, the Emperor acted, in October 1963, as a peacemaker in the dispute between Algeria and Morocco. On September 9, 1965, it was he who suggested that the heads of state meet at the United Nations to discuss the Kashmir conflict and other problems that threatened world peace. One problem of importance in Ethiopia's present foreign relations is posed by the desire of the Republic of Somalia for the inclusion of the Somali minority in a "Greater Somalia", which has led to periodic incidents between the two countries.

The Ethiopian people originated from the Semitic tribes that migrated from South Arabia to the Abyssinian highlands sometime in the first millennium B.C. The population of approximately 22 million consists of more than 100 tribes. Predominant are the Amharas, who make up roughly a third of the total population. The Amharas are Christian, while the majority of the other tribes are Moslem or pagan.

Plans for Development

In 1957, Ethiopia embarked upon its first five-year development plan aimed at providing the basis on which a modern economy could be built. Now, in the second year of its second five-year plan, Ethiopia has laid the foundation and is able to concentrate more on increasing production. Agricultural potential is very considerable. At present 90 per cent of the population are peasant farmers growing mainly subsistence crops. The value of Ethiopia's exports, which are almost entirely agricultural, has grown considerably in recent years and is expected to reach a level of more than ETH \$320 m (\$135 million Canadian) by 1967. Coffee is by far the most important commodity and accounts for some 50 per cent of all exports. Other exports are oilseeds, hides, and cereals. The scope for increasing coffee production is limited and the aim now is to improve quality and hence the value of the crop. Ethiopia's fertile soil and variations in climate permit a wide range of crops, and new ones, such as cotton and sugar, have been introduced. There is also a large potential for meat production, and at present there are some 25 million cattle in the country, of which a small proportion is marketed.

A major problem in economic expansion is the lack of good internal communications. The first five-year plan focused on this problem and loans were obtained from the World Bank and the United States, mostly for improvement of internal communications. Ethiopia has also established a national airline, both for international and internal service, and has improved its air-fields. Improvements are also being made to the port of Assab to establish it as the main port for Ethiopian exports. Currently, Djibouti in Somalia, which is linked by rail with Addis Ababa, is the main outlet port. Plans are also under way for the extension and improvement of the railway system. Efforts are being made to attract foreign investment to increase industrial capacity and the Ethiopian investment law permits a five-year tax holiday and remission of duty on imported raw

materials for manufacturing purposes. Industrial production still accounts for only 4 per cent of the gross national product and consists mainly of the processing of tobacco and the fabrication of textiles.

Relations With Canada

Before the Second World War, Canada had very few connections with Ethiopia. Since then, however, it is estimated that approximately 400 Canadians have worked in that country. At present, there are about 117 Canadians in Ethiopia, made up almost exclusively of missionaries and teachers. The largest group of Canadian missionaries are the Canadian members of the Sudan Interior Missions. Canadians are also working with a number of other missionary groups, both Catholic and Protestant. The Canadian teachers include several members of the staff of the Haile Selassie University in Addis Ababa. There are also a number of teachers from Canada employed in primary and secondary schools. Several Canadians are employed by the Ethiopian Government under direct contract and others are working for UN agencies such as the Economic Commission for Africa with headquarters located in Addis Ababa.

Under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Canada and Ethiopia have extended most-favoured-nation tariff treatment to each other. In 1964, Canada exported some \$100,000 worth of aircraft and engine parts, some agricultural implements and other miscellaneous articles to Ethiopia. Total Canadian exports to Ethiopia in 1964 were valued at approximately \$350,000. In the same period, Canadian imports from Ethiopia, largely coffee, were valued at approximately \$150,000.

Friendship and ties between Ethiopia and Canada are illustrated by the Emperor's state visits to Ottawa in 1954 and 1963 and the presence in an Ottawa school of grandsons of the Emperor.

Canadian Stand on Rhodesia

On November 11, 1965, the Government of Rhodesia announced that Rhodesia had become an independent state. On the afternoon of the same day, the British Prime Minister outlined to the House of Commons the constitutional position arising from this critical declaration of independence. Shortly thereafter, the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson issued the following statement:

I have learned with deep disappointment and regret of the decision of the Government of Rhodesia to declare its independence. This action has been taken in the face of numerous warnings by the British, Canadian and other governments. Prime Minister Wilson has announced that this is an unconstitutional act, amounting, in fact, to rebellion.

At and after the Commonwealth heads of government conference of July 1964, I made it plain that Canada would not recognize a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Government. I now confirm that we do not recognize either the unilateral declaration of independence by the Government of Mr. Smith in Rhodesia, or the independent state of Rhodesia which he claims now exists, or the Smith Government itself in Rhodesia.

Economic Privileges Withdrawn

In view of the action of Mr. Smith's Government, we are withdrawing the Canadian Trade Commissioner in Salisbury. We are recommending immediately to the Governor in Council the withdrawal of the preferential tariff treatment Rhodesian goods have enjoyed in Canada. Imports from Rhodesia will no longer be accorded the British preferential tariff, nor will they be entitled to the rates in the most-favoured-nation tariff. Instead, they will be subject to the much higher rates in the general tariff. We are also bringing into effect immediately a complete arms embargo. The export of all arms, military equipment and ammunition to Rhodesia will be banned, and there will be no new aid and financing agreements.

The situation which has arisen in Rhodesia is particularly serious because of its potentially divisive effect on the Commonwealth, and on race relations, which are so important to co-operation and development in Africa. We are engaged in continuing and close consultations with African and other Commonwealth Governments about the consequences of this most regrettable Rhodesian action.

The action of Mr. Smith's Government is in defiance of unanimous Commonwealth opinion expressed at the meetings of Commonwealth heads of government in 1964 and 1965. The United Nations General Assembly has also expressed clearly its opposition to such a unilateral declaration of independence. The Canadian measures I have described, which reflect our disapproval of the Rhodesian decision, are, therefore, also in accord with Commonwealth and world opinion.

International Co-operation Year in Canada⁽¹⁾

IN 1962, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution designating 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the world organization, as International Co-operation Year. This resolution, whose aim was to direct the attention of mankind to its common purposes and to accelerate those joint efforts already being made to achieve better world understanding, reads in part as follows:

The General Assembly, . . .

Conscious of the many grave international problems which remain unsolved and of the consequent need for international co-operation,

Considering it essential that Member States should endeavour to promote measures aimed at the elimination of tension,

Convinced that increased public awareness of the extent and significance of existing everyday co-operation would lead to a better appreciation of the true nature of the world community and of the common interests of mankind,

Convinced that devoting a year to international co-operation would help to bring about increased world understanding and co-operation, and thereby facilitate the settlement of major international problems,

Designates 1965, the twentieth year of the United Nations, as International Co-operation Year, . . .

Calls upon all Member States, the Specialized Agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the non-governmental organizations concerned:

To take note of, . . . and to publicize, to the widest extent feasible, the activities of international co-operation in which they have been, or are at present, engaged, and their efforts to strengthen and expand these activities;

To formulate such plans and programmes as seem to them appropriate to promote the purposes of International Co-operation Year; . . .

Requests the Committee:

To draw up and co-ordinate plans for International Co-operation Year . . . ;

To organize and prepare for suitable activities for the International Co-operation Year to be undertaken by the United Nations . . . ;

Invites Member States, the Specialized Agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the non-governmental organizations concerned to make available to the Committee, as appropriate, information on their plans and intentions for the International Co-operation Year;

Requests the Secretary-General, taking into account United Nations participation in International Co-operation Year, to provide, within existing budgetary limits, all necessary facilities for promoting and carrying forward International Co-operation Year;

⁽¹⁾ Based on an article by Lucien Lapointe, Director of Public Relations, UN International Co-operation Year (Canada).

Requests the Committee to submit an interim report to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session.

By mid-1965, as a result of planning carried on during the previous two years at the United Nations, the Canadian Committee for ICY was able to make public its official symbol, with an interpretation. Before officially naming 1965 International Co-operation Year in Canada, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, said:

International development is the great imperative of our generation . . . but the Government cannot do this work on its own. . . .

. . . It will require voluntary organizations and private individuals and business corporations and universities, all working in partnership, all marching toward the goal of raising the living standards of the developing countries. . . .

National ICY Council Created

The newly-established National Council of ICY (Canada) joined the many similar government-sponsored councils throughout the world dedicated to the creation of better international understanding and to the relief of ignorance and want by means of public education campaigns and special projects, as well as gifts of books, food, etc.

A leader for the new organization was found in Dr. James Robbins Kidd, director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education. Before he was almost literally "drafted" for his new post, Dr. Kidd had been founder and executive director of the Overseas Institute of Canada and secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Foundation, the Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Social Science Research Council of Canada. He has been described by his life-long friend Walter Herbert, director of the Canada Foundation, as "a person to whom serving his fellow man is as natural as swimming is to fishes in the ocean or flying to birds in the skies".

Financing ICY (Canada)

To raise funds for ICY (Canada), which was, at its birth, entirely without a budget, Dr. Kidd travelled the length and breadth of the country addressing a great variety of audiences on the nature and aims of the ICY and helping to form local, regional and provincial ICY committees. He made intensive use of press, radio and television to put across to the public the message of International Co-operation Year. With the assistance of ICY staff and the sponsorship of government departments, private associations and industry, he prepared special information kits for the use of pupils and teachers at primary and secondary schools and students and staff members at universities. The newspaper coverage of ICY promoted by Dr. Kidd amounted to an average 2,000 column-inches a month. He placed hundreds of articles and features in magazines, government departmental reviews and industrial house organs.

Some 200 national organizations were persuaded to launch special projects in support of the ICY. Among the many industrial concerns and businesses that con-

tributed time and money and lent top personnel to ICY (Canada) were the Shell Oil Company, the Bell Telephone Company, the Aluminum Company of Canada, the Seagrams Corporation, Steinberg's Limited and Salada Foods Limited. Assistance from these sources included the staffing of ICY information booths and the organizing of topical art displays.

The effort to make the Canadian public conscious of ICY objectives was so successful that it eventually became impossible to keep accurate financial records. So much, in fact, has been done, and continues to be done, at the regional and provincial levels that it will be some time before the full extent of the progress of the ICY campaign can be measured.

Support for Foreign Aid

In a series of speeches, Dr. Kidd was able to show that certain popular Canadian prejudices against foreign aid had at last been dispelled, and to demonstrate that such aid now possessed widespread acceptance as an important instrument of Canadian international policy. In one address, he described the contribution to international co-operation by the many Canadians serving emerging nations in these words:

Instead of banners and pennons, the insignia of the Great Crusade is penicillin and textbooks. Instead of great chargers, this army is mounted on tractors and ploughs. Instead of skill with lance and broadsword, these emissaries are adept in the arts of healing, teaching, printing, governing and managing. They go not to destroy an enemy but to win a friend.

In August 1965, Dr. Kidd relinquished his post as chairman of the National Council for ICY (Canada) to accept an ICY assignment at the University of Rajasthan in Jaipur, India. He was succeeded by Mr. Anselme Cormier, who had been a member of the Council since its establishment.

ICY and Canada's Centenary

The degree of acceptance achieved in Canada by the ICY campaign is indicated by the fact that the centennial celebrations in 1967 will include an ICY element, in the form of gifts to developing countries. ICY (Canada) will survive under the name International Co-operation Centennial Agency. The years 1966 and 1967 will be devoted to cultivating the increased amicability between Canada and other nations that it is hoped has resulted from the ICY activities of 1965. Canada's century of experience in self-government will be placed at the disposal of new nations that are only now acquiring self-government. And this intangible benefit will be accompanied by a very tangible \$10 million in money, in kind and in services provided by the Canadian organizations that have co-operated in making ICY (Canada) a success.

Canada's Agricultural Aid Programmes

FOOD PRODUCTION is one of the fundamental problems faced by the developing nations. Growing populations, foreign-exchange difficulties and increasing urbanization complicate the urgent need for more cattle and crops.

This is not just a matter of better seed and livestock of higher quality. Vast areas require irrigation, soil fertility has to be enhanced, plant and animal diseases fought, farm machinery supplied. There must be programmes of education at all levels to transmit knowledge of techniques, marketing procedures and methods of preserving food.

Canada is operating directly in the work of raising farm production in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. Last year, Canadian manufacturers supplied agricultural equipment worth more than half a million dollars under the international development-assistance programme. In Pakistan, experts surveyed the potential of the Chittagong Hill Tracts area and examined the possibility of diverting the Sangu River into irrigation. In Malaysia, Canadians worked on a national-resources survey to form the basis of agricultural-development planning. Students of veterinary science, agriculture and co-operatives came to Canada from Kenya, Mali and Malawi. Agricultural advisers went to Guinea.

Studies were made of a rural water scheme in Nigeria, an agricultural-mechanization project in Zambia, an agricultural training college in Chad and a training institute in Tunisia. Equipment was sent to agricultural stations in Western Cameroun.

Project in Ghana

One of the more imaginative projects is now being conducted in Ghana.

For five months of the year, less than one inch of rain reaches the baked earth of Northern Ghana, 700 miles from the equator. In the other seven months, more than 40 inches of rain falls.

Methods have to be found of storing the rainy season water for use in the dry months. In this way, the farmers of the region can produce two or more crops a year from land now yielding only one and can invest in larger herds of cattle, helping to alleviate Ghana's food shortages and to strengthen and diversify the economy.

A survey team commissioned by the United Nations having made a preliminary study of the area involved that showed the feasibility of a water-resources programme, a team from Canada's Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act was recently flown to Ghana to co-operate with the local authorities in a two-year programme designed to do for Ghanaian farmers what PFRA had been doing for the farmers of the Canadian Prairies and British Columbia since 1935.

In addition to supplying the 12 experts who form the team, PFRA has agreed to back up the project with its experienced administration, adding its Canadian-based research facilities to the work done by the men in the field.

Working from a headquarters in Accra, the experts expect to make plans for the construction of a large number of small and medium-sized storage ponds — earth reservoirs with concrete spills — and irrigation canals. They will survey the areas, drill to investigate the type of foundations required for dams and canals, and train Ghanaians to continue the work.

Development of Land Water

The world is now, by decree of the United Nations, in a Hydrological Decade. During these ten years, statistical data are being gathered, leading, it is hoped, to the development and improved use, storage and distribution of the world's fresh water.

Experts have observed that current knowledge makes possible only tentative appraisals of the potential of water development for agriculture in less-developed countries.

A world-wide strategy for development of land water such as is now envisaged will require analysis by specialists of existing knowledge, region by region, together with comprehensive field surveys and research.

In co-operation with governments of the developing countries, Canada has been able to undertake a number of water-resources projects.

This Canadian interest in water is a recognition of the essential part played by freshwater supplies in the expansion of food production. It is vitally important for the developing countries to increase their food supplies. In the Far East, for example, where 53 per cent of the world's population lives, only 29 per cent of the world's food is produced. As populations grow and as life is prolonged, the problems of hunger grow proportionately, making an overriding demand on governments and placing heavy strain upon their programmes of economic development.

Together with the transfer of technical knowledge, the mechanization of farming methods and the investment of capital in better plant and animal stock, the discovery and conservation of water makes a significant contribution to the narrowing of the international gap between surplus and poverty.

Canada Visits . . .

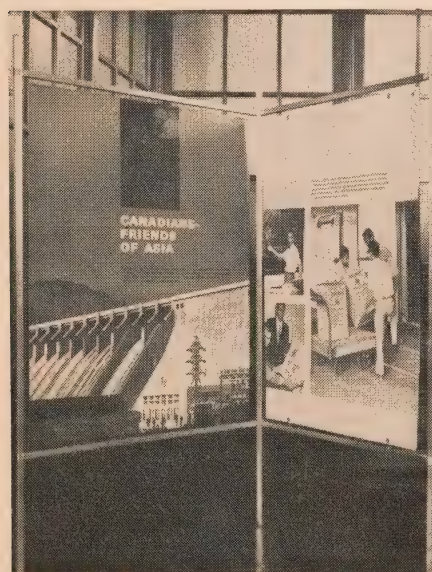
THE PORTABLE EXHIBIT AS AN INFORMATION MEDIUM

On behalf of all Canadians, our warm and friendly greetings! Besides an insight into our history and government, a glimpse of our land, our natural resources, our industry and agriculture, you may obtain from this exhibit a clearer idea of what we Canadians are like. You will also, I hope, sense from it how clearly Canadians prize the ideals of international peace, economic progress and social justice. We must all work together in a common dedication to the attainment of these goals.



L. B. Pearson
Prime Minister of Canada

This message from Prime Minister Pearson will introduce visitors to a series of portable photographic exhibits to be included by the end of 1966 among the information supplies of Canadian missions in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin



America. These exhibits are now being prepared by the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission in co-operation with the Department of External Affairs.

The decision to make available to posts, for retention and exhibit throughout their areas, mounted displays of colour photographs was prompted by the success achieved by a travelling display that was seen in seven Latin American countries from 1962 to 1964. More than a quarter of a million people were attracted to this exhibit, which was set up on 16 occasions and produced much favourable publicity about Canada in the press and on radio and television in the countries it visited.

Tour of Latin America

The Latin American tour opened in Argentina late in 1962. During its stay in that country, the exhibit was seen in five major cities — Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Mendoza, Mar del Plata and Rosario — by an average of 500 persons a day.

Describing the exhibit as "colourful, comprehensive and compact", the Canadian Embassy in Buenos Aires reported that "thanks to the exhibit, a nucleus of the population, well-distributed geographically, is now better informed about the basic facts and range of our national activities and culture".

From April 22 to May 4, 1963, the exhibit was on display in Montevideo, Uruguay. In the view of the Embassy, it was "a successful and rewarding venture, which aroused much interest in Uruguay".

Following its display at the Ministry of Education in Santiago, the Canadian Ambassador to Chile reported that many Chileans had praised the quality of the exhibit and that it had been of help in making Canada better known.

After a successful stay in Lima, Peru, the exhibit moved to Ecuador, where it was seen in Quito, Cuenca and Guayaquil. In its report, the Canadian Embassy referred to the favourable comments in the press, and attributed to the success of the exhibit a sharp increase in the number of requests for information received from citizens of Ecuador during the months following the exhibit.

After visiting the Venezuelan cities of Maracaibo and Caracas from early April to the end of July 1964, the exhibit was next mounted in Colombia at the Fifth Bogotá International Fair, at the National Museum of Colombia, also in Bogotá, and in the Conservatory of Fine Arts in Cali.

Africa and Asia

Modelled generally on the exhibit that was so successful in Latin America, but with considerable improvement in form and content, exhibits in 11 languages are now nearing completion, and units will go to Accra, Dar-es-Salaam, Lagos, and Yaoundé in Africa and Colombo, Djakarta, Karachi, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, New Delhi and Tokyo in Asia.

In the near future, exhibits with texts in Spanish and Portuguese will be sent to posts in Latin America. Final planning is in progress for ten units to be sent to missions in the United States, and preliminary arrangements are under way for two French-language exhibits for France, Belgium and Switzerland.



Description of Panels

Although the panels and text vary according to geographical area, each basic exhibit comprises up to 60 panels designed to give an insight into Canadian history and government, a glimpse of the land, information on Canada's natural resources, industry and agriculture, and an idea of what Canadians are like. Panels with an international flavour are designed to show something of Canada's efforts to pre-

serve the peace and to contribute to the economic development of countries still in the development stage. When mounted on its display stand, an exhibit will occupy about 2,000 square feet, or a room measuring 40' \times 50'.

The two exhibits being planned for European showing will be of a special na-



ture, one designed to display general information and Canadian commodities to persons attending regional fairs, the other giving a picture of Canadian cultural developments as well as providing general information on aspects of Canadian life and development.

With these display units to supplement the basic information tools — films and printed materials — an important new dimension is being added to Canada's information programme, and posts will be better equipped to tell the Canadian story abroad.

Conferences of Commonwealth Judges and Jurists

SOME 95 prominent members of the Canadian legal profession attended the Third Commonwealth and Empire Law Conference held at Sydney, Australia, from August 25 to September 5, 1965. This non-governmental conference provided an opportunity for Commonwealth lawyers to exchange views on legal questions of mutual concern. Foremost among the matters discussed were proposals for a Commonwealth Court to replace the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, uniform recognition and enforcement of legislation within the Commonwealth, domestic law matters such as crime and punishment, laws relating to motor vehicles, family law, and other matters of particular interest to the legal profession, including methods of law reform and the role and responsibility of lawyers in the modern world.

Law Ministers and Chief Justices Meet

Following the Conference, Law Ministers and Chief Justices of the Commonwealth nations met for two days in Canberra. Mr. Justice Martland of the Supreme Court of Canada represented the Chief Justice of Canada and Mr. Justice Hall, also of the Supreme Court of Canada, represented the Canadian Minister of Justice. The Law Ministers and the Chief Justices suggested the possibility that a Legal Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat might be established to seek a means of achieving greater co-operation within the Commonwealth in the legal sphere by improving availability of legal material. This matter had been discussed at the Commonwealth and Empire Law Conference, where speakers referred to the desirability of the Secretariat encouraging legal conferences, promoting the exchange of legal ideas and the interchange of lawyers and judges, and perhaps operating an advisory service as a central point of reference for Commonwealth laws. The Law Ministers also suggested that older Commonwealth countries should assist newer ones in legal education. The question of fugitive offenders figured prominently in the matters discussed by the Law Ministers, who saw merit in identification of the principles involved and possible conclusion of a convention or bilateral agreements between Commonwealth countries on extradition of offenders from one to another. The main topic of discussion at the Chief Justices' Conference was the suggestion for creation of a Commonwealth Court of Appeal. For a variety of reasons, the proposal was considered, in present circumstances, to be impracticable.

Ceremony at Adegem

DURING the campaign in Belgium and the Netherlands in 1944, one of the fiercest battles was that fought to clear the estuary of the River Scheldt and open Antwerp to the Allies. This task, as well as the liberation of Northern Belgium, fell principally to the Canadian Army, which suffered heavy casualties. Eight hundred and thirty of the men killed lie today in the Canadian Military Cemetery at Adegem, a little Belgian town near the Dutch border.

Every year since 1944, the Association Belgique-Canada has organized a memorial ceremony at Adegem to honour these Canadian dead. During the ceremony, the Canadian Ambassador, the President of the Association, representatives of the King of the Belgians and the Belgian Government, and the Burgomaster of Adegem lay wreaths at the monument. Two guards of honour, one from 1 Wing, Royal Canadian Air Force at Marville, France, and one from the Belgian Army present arms in tribute to the fallen. The children of Adegem help care for the graves all year long, and perhaps the most moving part of the ceremony is when these



The official party, headed by the Canadian Ambassador to Belgium, Mr. S. D. Pierce (left), and the Belgian Minister of Defence, Mr. L. M. O. Moyersoen (right), and including the Burgomaster of Adegem, the representative of the King of the Belgians and officers of the Canadian Armed Forces, enter the Memorial Gates at the Canadian Military Cemetery at Adegem, Belgium.

young Belgians offer flowers which they themselves have gathered. This year there was a dramatic addition, when an RCAF aircraft dropped 20,000 poppies over the cemetery with perfect accuracy and timing.

In 1963, in recognition of the work of the Association Belgique-Canada, the then Prime Minister of Belgium, Mr. Théo Lefèvre, presented to Mr. Paul Migeon, its founder and president, in the name of King Baudouin, the order of Léopold.

In his address the Prime Minister said:

We shall never forget those days when our country, after four years of occupation and struggle for life, finally was liberated. We shall never forget those Canadian boys who crossed the Atlantic to help us regain freedom and happiness.

Brief Visit of Belgian Royal Couple

ON THEIR WAY to Latin America for a series of state visits, Their Majesties the King and Queen of Belgium stopped over briefly at Montreal Airport on October 18, 1965. The royal couple were greeted by Mr. Esmond Butler, representing Governor-General Georges P. Vanier, the Honourable Guy Favreau, President of the Privy Council, representing the Prime Minister, and the Honourable Jean Lesage, Prime Minister of Quebec, as well as by other federal, provincial and municipal officials and their wives. His Excellency the Ambassador of Belgium to Canada and Miss Daufresne de la Chevalerie also participated in the welcoming ceremony.

After speaking with some of their many well-wishers, King Baudouin and Queen Fabiola were entertained at a private reception offered by the Government of Canada.



In the photograph above, the royal couple are shown being greeted by Mr. Lesage (left rear) and Mr. Favreau (right front).

Visitors from Zambia

THREE MEMBERS of the National Assembly of the Republic of Zambia, Mr. P. M. Ngoma, the Junior Minister of Health in the Zambian Government, Mr. S. M. Chikulo, and Mr. N. S. Mulenga, visited Ottawa from October 31 to November 7, 1965. The purpose of their visit was to observe the operations of the Department of External Affairs and other government departments. The three visitors are members of the United National Independence Party of Zambia led by President Kenneth Kaunda, which holds a majority in the 75-seat National Assembly. Before coming to Ottawa, the visitors had spent several weeks in New York studying international affairs and observing the procedures of the United Nations.

In the past, there have been very few exchanges of this kind between Canada and Zambia, which obtained its independence in October 1964. The visit was, therefore, a welcome opportunity to strengthen further Canada's growing relations with that country. Since Zambia's independence, the Canadian Government has begun assisting economic and social progress in Zambia through the provision of technical advisers and teachers.

During their stay, the visitors participated in discussions with officers of the Departments of External Affairs, Finance, and Trade and Commerce. They also visited the recently-established School of International Affairs at Carleton University, and discussed its operations with the Dean of Arts. The visitors toured the Parliament Buildings and the Central Experimental Farm, and also visited the Privy Council Office and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.



Left to right: Mr. N. S. Mulenga, Mr. P. M. Ngoma, and Mr. S. M. Chikulo.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

FAO biennial conference: Rome, November 20 - December 9

Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Karachi, November 15 - December 2

NATO Ministerial Meeting: Paris, December 14-16

OECD Ministerial Meeting on Science: Paris, January 12-13, 1966

International Joint Commission semi-annual meeting: Washington, April 5-8, 1966

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. Hutchingame posted from the Canadian Consulate, Philadelphia, to Ottawa, effective September 3, 1965.
- Mr. A. S. McGill appointed High Commissioner for Canada to the United Republic of Tanzania with concurrent accreditation to Uganda and Kenya, effective September 8, 1965.
- Mr. F. Charpentier retired from the Department of External Affairs, effective September 9, 1965.
- Mr. P. Dobell posted from the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective September 13, 1965.
- Mr. D. R. Fraser posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, to Ottawa, effective September 25, 1965.
- Mr. A. C. E. Joly de Lotbiniere posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective September 26, 1965.
- Miss A. J. Shaw posted from the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, to Ottawa, effective October 1, 1965.
- Mr. P. de W. Wilson appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective October 4, 1965.
- Mr. P. Croft posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, Vientiane, effective October 4, 1965.
- Mr. G. D. MacKinnon posted from the Office of the High Commissioner, Karachi, to Ottawa, effective October 5, 1965.
- Mr. J. W. Graham posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to Ottawa, effective October 7, 1965.
- Mr. R. G. MacNeil appointed Canadian Consulate General in New Orleans, effective October 8, 1965.
- Mr. J. G. Bisson appointed Canadian Consulate General in Los Angeles, effective October 23, 1965.

- Mr. J. F. X. Houde appointed Ambassador to Peru, effective November 1, 1965.
- Mr. S. D. Pierce appointed Chief Negotiator and Ambassador to the Canadian Delegation to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Trade Negotiating Conference, Geneva, effective November 3, 1965.
- Miss E. R. Laidman posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective November 12, 1965.
- Mr. F. Wiebe posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective December 1, 1965.
- Mr. C. Pedersen posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner, Karachi, effective December 10, 1965.
- Mr. V. C. Moore appointed Commissioner to the Canadian Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, effective December 5, 1965.
- Mr. L. Duclos posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bogota, effective December 29, 1965.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Multilateral

Amendments to the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by General Assembly Resolutions 1991 A and B (XVIII) of 17 December 1963.

Done at New York December 17, 1963.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited September 9, 1964.

Entered into force August 31, 1965.

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